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THE TASK IN JAPAN

The Task in Japan

A Study in Modern Missionary Imperatives

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To my Wife.

PREFACE

THIS volume contains the substance of the Students' Course of Lectures in Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, for the year 1925. It also contains material used in part in lectures given in 1925 at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, The College of Missions, Indianapolis, and Indiana University.

The Author desires hereby to thank the authorities of these institutions for the opportunity which the preparation of these lectures has given him to formulate his experiences and observations in the Orient during the past twenty years in a way that may prove helpful to Western students.

A. K. R.

Tōkyō, Japan.

CONTENTS

I

THE GENERAL SETTING

THE outstanding fact about the modern world is the breaking down of old barriers, the interdependence of all its parts and the growing recognition of the essential unity of the human race. It is becoming increasingly difficult to isolate or insulate any one part from other parts or from the whole. An ancient China was able to build a wall and in a measure protect itself from the inroads of the barbarians of the North. Even this proved futile in the course of time. But it is absolutely futile for a modern nation to try to live its life unto itself, to be interested only in its own immediate problems or to try to solve the problems that arise from the contact with other peoples in a spirit of mere self-interest. To hold ourselves aloof from the world task, or to dip in only when our own interests seem threatened, is to invite disaster for ourselves in the end. If the world war has taught us anything, surely it has taught us this great lesson about the essential unity of the modern world and the interdependence of all its parts. The war cut right across all old boundaries—geographical, national, racial, cultural and reli-

gious. This was true not only in the way the two sides were lined up in the struggle but also in the far-reaching effects which the war has had and is yet destined to have.

Let us recall just a few of these effects. Even the ignorant and the blind were forced to see how interdependent we are in the externals of life. In our economic life e. g. this was registered most strikingly. As prices mounted in London and New York they bounded upward in Tōkyō and Peking. When the business depression hit certain industries in America at the close of the war, the factories of Japan were almost paralyzed. But even more graphically did the great epidemics of disease that encircled the globe demonstrate the essential oneness of humanity. When, in 1918, Americans and Europeans died by the tens of thousands with the influenza, Japanese, Chinese, East Indians and other Asiatics died by scores of thousands. Somehow the colour of men's skins made little difference when it came to things that go deeper.

But this interdependence of the parts of humanity is not confined to the physical and external things of life. It is not only in the things we eat, the clothes we wear and the things that rob us of these essentials of our bodily life that we are dependent upon each other. Far more significant is the fact that in the modern world there is a growing interchange and interdependence in the realm of ideas and ideals of life. President Wilson's

Fourteen Points and the ideals of democracy about which the West talked so much in 1918 were as enthusiastically received in China and Japan as in Europe and America. The wave of Bolshevism spread not only westward across Europe but also eastward and southward across Siberia, Japan, China and India. In fact, the very attempt on the part of the Japanese militarists to break its power in eastern Siberia with their army only resulted in spreading Bolshevist ideas among the soldiers that made up that army. How futile have been the efforts to prevent this interpenetration of ideas in our modern world!

Perhaps the most striking example of this invasion of thoughts from one part of the world into another part which a few generations ago had little in common with each other is modern Japan. In the city of Tōkyō there are hundreds of book stores where one can find almost any book. Practically everything of any significance published in any part of the world reaches these book stores within a few weeks. A Dewey, a Bertrand Russell or an Einstein gets as good a hearing in Japan and China as in America and Europe. The truth is that the great student world of the Orient today thinks very much the same thoughts that the student world in other parts of the planet is thinking. If there is any difference, it is that the former take their thoughts a little more seriously than our boys and girls are taking them, for they have

not quite so many things to divert their minds as we have.

But even in our diversions, life in modern Japan is more like life in the West than it is like the life of old Japan. Here, too, there is an invasion from the West which tends towards creating a common outlook on life. If e.g. baseball is America's national game, *Basu baru* is the national sport, at least for the student world, in Japan; and the best Japanese teams have already demonstrated their ability to hold their own with the average college team in America. Tennis, too, is almost as popular in Japan as in the West. The " movie motive " of life which seems to actuate our millions makes its appeal to hundreds of thousands in Japan. The popular films are American and European films with plenty of action and numerous love scenes that show how the modern world is enjoying itself. In short, present day Japan has a passion for the fascinations of our modern civilization, both in the realm of the external enrichments and in the enlarged horizon of our thoughts. In this respect the present generation of Japanese is much more like the people of the West than like its own fathers and grandfathers.

Now this unity of the modern world and especially this invasion of Western ideas and life ideals into the East and the resultant general outlook on life are of tremendous significance for the great missionary enterprise and they reshape many of

our problems so that they are often radically different from what they were only a short generation ago. It makes the missionary task now essentially one with the Christian task in the home lands. There was a time when the world was divided into rather water-tight compartments, when there were clear lines of division between home and foreign lands, between the Christian and the non-Christian world. There was a time when it was natural and essentially correct to think of the foreign missionary as one who literally "went out to a heathen land." What he did in that land had little connection with what was being done in the home lands. He was a unique creature, devoted to a unique task. He did his work out of a high sense of Christian duty in obedience to the great command of the Master to disciple all the nations of the world. He knew little about the people to whom he went except that apart from Christ they were lost, and he went to bring them the salvation he himself had found. Nothing was further from his mind than the thought that his work would soon be most seriously conditioned by forces over which he had no control, by the total impact which the life of Western nations was soon to make on the East. And even more remote was the thought that he himself might learn much from the people among whom he laboured or that their culture might exert an influence and even enrich the civilization he represented.

All this is changed now. While the modern missionary goes out with the conviction that he has something of real value to bring to the people among whom he labours, as did his predecessor, in almost every other respect his problem is different, for he lives in a very different world. His life and work on the mission field are but one of the numerous influences that are going out from the land he represents. He can no longer live merely as an individual Christian in his chosen non-Christian environment and by his beautiful life of self-sacrifice commend unto others the Christian life, but he now is regarded also as a representative of a nation and a civilization, and therefore everything that he does and says is conditioned at least in part by the other influences that are proceeding from his home land and from the Western civilization he represents.

In some respects his task is made more feasible by reason of these other forces and influences that are proceeding today from the Western world.

First of all, the modern world has been made far more accessible by reason of the extension of Western civilization. A world that can be encircled with aeroplanes and any nook and corner of which reached by radio is certainly a very different world from the one our fathers knew.

In the second place, the enrichments in things external which Western civilization brings often

opens the door to the missionary as a representative of that civilization.

Then, in the third place, the modern missionary finds in many fields already present the common elements of what might be called a world culture. No longer does he come from one cultural area into another cultural area which has little in common with his own, but he finds groups everywhere which recognize and gladly accept certain ideals and standards of life regarded as fundamental in a world civilization. The great educational systems, the colleges and universities which are being developed all over the world are such accepted factors of a world civilization. Science and its increasing achievements knows no national, racial, cultural or religious boundaries. Even commerce and industry tend in many ways to break down old barriers. In short, there is in the modern world such a thing as a general culture, an attitude towards life which tends to unify mankind and impress upon men's minds the thought that the fortunes and misfortunes of every part of the race are intimately bound up with the destiny of the race as a whole.

In the creation of this condition our missionary enterprise had, of course, a large share—perhaps it was the greatest factor—but at this point we do not wish to consider this phase of its connection. We only wish to point out that the existence of such an atmosphere, however it was created, has the greatest significance for our missionary enter-

prise in the future and in many ways makes it a more feasible undertaking. Just because Christianity has had such a big share in bringing about this partially unified world and in spreading those ideals of education, science and a common world culture, is one reason why its task should become easier. It certainly makes it less difficult to make vital contacts now with the peoples of non-Christian lands. In hundreds of places all over the Orient today, and particularly in Japan, a missionary, with the right spirit and a worthwhile message, finds the minds and hearts prepared in a way that was not true in the past.

But after we have said this, we must not blind ourselves to the fact that there are factors in the present situation which point in just the opposite direction and which make our Christian task far more complicated and difficult than was the task which our fathers had to face.

The very interdependence of the modern world, in spite of what we have said above, has in it elements which in their present state of imperfect harmonization tend towards disruption and towards defeating the major Christian aims and ideals. In fact, unless this partial unity which at present is only a blind interdependence and a confusing interpenetration, can be worked out into a real unity in which the different parts clearly recognize and respect each other for what they really are, then it will undoubtedly become increas-

ingly difficult for Western Christians to preach the gospel of brotherhood and the message of the Prince of Peace in the Orient. In the days of our fathers the people among whom they laboured knew little about the Western world and judged the so-called Christian nations largely by the lives of the self-sacrificing men and godly women who came to them from those nations as teachers and physicians. Then, further, the Oriental peoples were satisfied with their own inheritance and manner of life. They knew nothing about, nor did they desire to have, the things in which the Western world is so rich today, namely, the products of modern science and all that fascinating enrichment in the externals of life. Oriental peoples, with the exception of Japan, did not care much even for political power, national independence and all the glories for which we red-blooded " Nordics " bleed ourselves to death from time to time.

But this is all changed now. The Brown peoples of the East, and the Japanese in an exceptional degree, want all these things of our modern Western civilization as we want them; and what is more important is the fact that they want them on terms of equality with us. A unity of the world and an interdependence of its parts in which the relationship is that of White rulers and Brown subjects is a unity and interdependence which no longer satisfies the Brown people, however much the White Man may talk about the White Man's Burden.

Right here is the greatest obstacle to the missionary enterprise today, and we are not going to make much progress in our task until we face frankly this problem and work out a more Christian solution. If religion were merely a matter of saving individual souls out of an evil world into a future paradise, then we might ignore this present situation. But our whole emphasis in modern Christianity is just this emphasis upon Christianizing all life's relationships; and that must, of course, include our relationships as nations and races. White Americans, in preaching the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man to brown Japanese can not side-step the question of Japan-American relationships. And Christian "Nordics" from Great Britain, in speaking about the Kingdom of God to dark Aryans of India, will have to answer questions about a White Australia Policy and an African Policy which keeps fellow British subjects of crowded India out of the great empty spaces, before they will be taken very seriously. It must be obvious to all that the missionary in China will find his task next to impossible unless the nations of the West will learn how to treat China in a more Christian way.

It is perhaps not strange that in practice the White Christian is frequently embarrassed by the policy of his government. That might be expected from the fact that no nation is really a Christian nation. Intelligent Orientals know the West well

enough now not to expect our nations to act always in conformity with the highest Christian principles. The great obstacle at present is the fact that we have not even in theory worked out a possible Christian solution of this great problem created by the contraction of the world and the inevitable coming together of all peoples. We talk of world democracy and the universal brotherhood of man, but beyond these general statements we seem to have made little progress. And because of our failure to think through our problems, the world is in chaos.

A few guiding principles ought surely to be fairly clear by this time. Among these the following seem most pertinent to the situation:

We must, in the first place, recognize the essential oneness of humanity in its deepest needs, in its hopes and aspirations, and in its highest destinies. No matter what is the colour of his skin or the slant of his eye-brow, " a man's a man for a' that." We talk about the " mysterious Orient," about " Japanese psychology," and all such things which are calculated to perpetuate and enlarge the chasm that has separated the East from the West, but some of us who know the peoples of the Orient from the experience of a long residence among them know perfectly well that these differences are not half as great as the things that they have in common with us. The key to understand the " mysterious Orient," and one which often unlocks

the intricacies of " Japanese psychology," is found in the words of the German poet who said, " Willst du die andern verstehen, Blick in dein eigenes Hertz." " Wouldst thou understand others, Look into thine own heart."

But, in the second place, we must recognize the fact that there are real differences. There are physical differences and differences in the cultural inheritance which must be respected if we really want to bring order out of the present chaos. The ideal that would suddenly remove all national boundaries and throw all races together into one huge melting-pot shows little understanding of human nature, and even less respect for the achievements of the past made possible by these differences.

In the third place, the fact that one people differs from another in its customs and its cultural achievements should not lead us to regard one as necessarily inferior to the other. The uncultured naturally look upon the unfamiliar and the unaccustomed as something inferior, for the norm by which they measure is their own limited experience. The cultured man is able to appreciate the good in things that differ from his own and he is ever ready to discover a richer synthesis to which all contribute and in which all may share. In fact, the progress of civilization has been made possible largely by this process of assimilating elements contributed from various sources. The

rich inheritance of our modern world consists largely of elements that have been drawn from many peoples down through the centuries.

Further, our appreciation of the good in the culture of other peoples does not mean that we reduce everything to the same level. There are backward peoples and cultures which have little to contribute. Their chief value seems to consist in reminding us of the pit from which we ourselves have been digged and not in pointing us to the mountain height towards which the race is slowly fighting its way. But these backward peoples should be recognized as having a right to a place in the sun, and their worth should be measured not by what they have already contributed to the world's culture, but by what they might become through their contact with a Christian civilization. In any case, we who boast of our Christian civilization have laid upon us the Christian duty in which the strong bear the burdens of the weak.

And, finally, in a Christian civilization God's varied gifts to individuals and races must somehow be unified into a harmonious whole. Many of our differences, instead of being causes of friction, can become elements of enrichment. Just as at the beginning of the Christian era Jewish Christianity was greatly enriched by the bringing in of the Gentiles so today, on a much larger scale, Western civilization and Western Christianity can be made vastly more rich by the varied contribu-

tions from the great Oriental peoples with their genius for religion and with their capacity for getting much out of little. Paul's ideal of a Christian civilization, expressed in the figure of a great temple, must be our ideal. "Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom each several building fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord." What we need above all else today is a respect for others and a willingness to admit that the great peoples of the Orient have much to teach us and to contribute to the world's common culture.

Now, these are some of the guiding ideals of our Christian civilization, and these must somehow be wrought into the fabric of our international and interracial relationships if we really wish to take our missionary enterprise seriously. It will become more and more futile for our missionaries from the West to go on preaching the Gospel of the Son of Man in the Orient unless the Church in the home lands makes a more determined effort to give expression to Christian ideals through the total impact which Western nations make upon the East.

Unfortunately, the ideals which we have roughly outlined are far from being the guiding ideals of the modern world, however numerous those are who, as Christians, profess to accept them. The actual situation in which we find ourselves, having been brought about by policies and practices in

the past which were anything but Christian, is such as to make it almost impossible, with even the best intentions, to apply the principles of brotherhood in our dealings between nations as nations, or between race and race. The missionary enterprise has succeeded in awakening among the non-Christian peoples a desire for equality of treatment and for brotherly relationships with Western peoples, but the Church in the home lands has thus far failed in securing the acceptance of Christian principles on the part of governments, industries and commercial activities in their dealings with the non-Christian peoples, and this constitutes the crux of the present situation.

There is, e. g., the appalling fact that approximately nine-tenths of the world's territory is under the control of the White race. How this control was obtained is a story of many chapters and at least some of these chapters make rather uncomfortable reading for anyone with a Christian conscience. Not long ago a proud Christian " Nordic " and a gentle Hindu were discussing this question. The Hindu, stressing the thought of the essential oneness of the human race, quoted from Paul's speech at Athens, " and he made of *one* every nation of men." The Nordic, familiar with this passage, replied by finishing the quotation, " having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation." But, quick as a flash, the gentle Hindu said, " Yes, that is true, but was

that written before or after the White race gobbled up the earth? "

But are not these subject races better off under the White man's beneficent tutelage? Is this not really the White Man's Burden which he has taken up out of a high sense of duty for the good of mankind? That is the way we like to think of it, and there is no doubt but that in many ways these peoples are benefitted by the presence of the energetic White Man. Especially in the externals of life have these nations and races been greatly enriched by the coming of the Westerner with his mastery over nature and with all his products of modern science. In the last analysis, however, it is not so much what the White Man thinks about his high mission of beneficent dominance over the Brown, Yellow and Black races, but rather what these peoples themselves now think. Some of them are beginning to ask, " What profiteth it a people even if it gain the whole enrichment offered by Western scientific civilization and yet lose its own soul, lose its freedom and right to determine its own destiny? "

In many cases our Western civilization, with its emphasis on man's mastery over matter, has broken down Asia's spiritual mood and really impoverished Asia's soul. In spite of the progress these Eastern peoples have made, as we measure progress, this is often accompanied by a disintegration of their own spiritual culture. And where

a people has accepted wholeheartedly our Western civilization, as is the case with Japan, so that they passionately desire and diligently strive to acquire the things that enrich us, they are confronted with the cold fact that an overwhelming part of the world's wealth and natural resources are in the hands of the White West. Strive as they may, they seem doomed to perpetual poverty. For it must be remembered that not only is an overwhelming portion of the world's territory under the control of the White race, but that in recent years a new form of world dominance is taking place, namely, economic dominance. Japan, e. g., does not fear the possibility of any further territorial aggrandizement, but she is in mortal terror of American capital controlling, in the near future, an industrialized China. Unlimited American gold and unlimited cheap Chinese labour are a nightmare to the statesmen of over-populated Japan, whose only hope for feeding adequately her increasing millions lies in industry and in trade with her big neighbour on the continent.

In a word, then, as things now stand, the White race, which is roughly identical with the Christian peoples of the world, has such an overwhelming share of the world's territory and the world's wealth under its control that the Brown peoples of the Orient, now that they have awakened to the facts of their poverty, bitterly resent the situation. And all the more bitter grows the resentment as

they discover that this big lead which the Western world has over the East tends to become greater rather than less by reason of the new economic expansion and dominance made possible by the accumulated wealth of certain Western nations.

It is true that our Western nations are less arrogant towards the East than in the past and that they are ready to pledge themselves to policies which forbid further territorial aggrandizement. In fact, they are quite zealous now to keep things in *status quo*. They are even ready to disarm and to establish a perpetual peace in which the arts of peace might have an uninterrupted development. Armies are now to be only a sort of international police force to see to it that nations behave themselves and keep within the bounds fixed at last permanently for each people by a "mysterious Providence."

How lovely that sounds and how simple it would be if only every one were now sweet and reasonable about it all! To us who have such a goodly portion of this world's goods it sounds like good sense. We can readily subscribe to any program that would keep things as they are, and especially to a program which puts into our hands the control of the forces that can keep things as they are. With White Christian nations controlling not only their own lands but also a big portion of the lands of non-Christian Brown and Black peoples, with exclusion of Brown peoples,

even as individuals, from White territory as a fixed policy, and with the military and economic power to keep things in that favourable situation for ourselves, we can fold our hands and thank God that our "lines have fallen unto us in such pleasant places" and beseech Him to give us eternal peace and continued prosperity. We can do even more than that. We can now give to the poor and backward nations of the world some of the blessings of a Christian civilization. We can send missionaries to them who will tell them of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. In fact, we can congratulate ourselves that we have already been doing this and that much of the progress which the Brown and Black peoples have made they owe directly to the work of our missionaries and to our other benevolent efforts on their behalf. Why can not this situation continue and we go on helping them on a larger and larger scale as God prospers us and blesses our good Samaritan enterprises until these peoples, too, become prosperous, happy, Christian peoples?

This looks reasonable to us and like a splendid program for the future, but somehow from the standpoint of an awakened Orient the world situation looks very different. In all these lands there is a growing dissatisfaction with the fact that the "Christian" White race has too large a share of the world's land and wealth, and there is even a more bitter resentment against the White Man for

his "superior" attitude in his dealings with the coloured races. The fact that Christian peoples of the West have done much for the good of these peoples is recognized and has often been acknowledged with gratitude, but in the future such efforts on their behalf will be received with more or less of a critical spirit. Only those with the purest Christian motives, the highest Christian aims and an unmistakably Christian attitude will be welcome. Even these will often find their work misunderstood unless the Christians of the West will seek more zealously to make the policies of their governments, the practices of their business men and others conform a little more closely with the ideals for which the messengers of the Gospel stand.

To come back to the thought with which we started: Our Christian task in Japan, and in all mission fields, is essentially one with our Christian task in the home lands. So inter-related and interdependent is the life of the modern world that we can no longer live our lives in separate compartments. We must be more vitally Christian in all life's relationships if we would be taken seriously as messengers of Him who is the Lord of all life and the Lord of *all* of life.

II

MOTIVES, AIMS AND ATTITUDES

IT must be evident from what was said in the preceding chapter about the general setting of our Christian task in mission fields that the greatest problem that confronts us today is not so much the increasing of the number of missionaries and the enlarging of the budgets, however imperative this is in many cases, as it is to purify our motives, clarify our aims and thoroughly Christianize our attitudes.

Motives

What are the real motives for carrying on our missionary work?

One does not have to go very far with this question to discover that in many cases our motives are not altogether pure Christian motives. In truth, one must start with the fact that a goodly number of apparently good Christian people take no interest whatever in the missionary enterprise. Then with a rather large proportion of those who are more or less interested, missions seem to be simply one of the unreasoned vague assumptions of their life. Out of a sort of blind obedience to

a vague call of duty they occasionally take a little part in this world task. They feel that somehow it is the Christian thing to do, and that there are some passages of Scripture which make it their duty, but further than that they do not seem to go. It is all so far removed from their daily interests and even from their other religious interests, for they do not at all realize that missions are the natural expansion of a vital religious life—that the *Why* of missions is essentially the same as the *Why* of Christian service anywhere. One missionary leader has made the statement that less than twenty per cent. of American Christians have an intelligent interest in missions.

With many who do look upon missions as the natural expression of a living religion the motive is often mixed with a strong partisan spirit. Our very terminology sometimes vitiates our motives. So much of it is taken from the language of the battlefield. Christianity goes to conquer the world. We support it because it is *our* religion, and *our* religion must triumph over the religion of others. The motive is to win converts to our party, and the larger the number of converts thus made the greater our prestige. More often this partisan spirit takes on the form of denominational rivalry. We hear about a "Methodist belt around the world," and while other denominations may not have that sort of a slogan, it is perfectly plain that denominational ambitions are often determining

factors in dictating mission policies. Every Protestant denomination conducting mission work in Japan feels that it must be represented in Tōkyō to give it prestige, rather than having some of them concentrate their efforts in unoccupied sections of the empire. The result is that there is often a shameful waste and overlapping of efforts. And sometimes this partisan spirit goes so far that within the same denomination there is this wasteful competition, as, e. g., in the Presbyterian-Reformed family of missions in Japan which are united in one church but which burden themselves with the maintenance of five theological seminaries, two of them located in the same city, to supply a ministry for this church of about forty thousand members. Surely something else than the highest Christian motive must be operative here to account for such a state of affairs. At least it would seem that the motives are not altogether enlightened, even though they are worthy in other respects.

Then, further, missions are with many little more than the natural expansion of Western civilization. This, too, is a motive rooted in a partisan spirit. We have a feeling that ours is the superior civilization and, of course, our superior civilization must dominate the world. A part of our civilization is our religion, or we may even believe that it is the foundation of our civilization. Therefore, let us take our religion to the ends of the earth and

through it uproot other civilizations and replace them by our own.

Then, again, with some the missionary motive has in it a mixture of self-interest and adventure. It is something like the appeal which the American navy makes to young men in seeking recruits when its posters tempt them with, " Join the navy and see the world! " In the early days, when missions were still unpopular and regarded as the foolish efforts of the over-zealous, there was little danger that any one would become a missionary or promote missions who did not have a strong Christian motive. And it is also true that even today no one will stick to a missionary job for a lifetime who is not actuated by more or less worthy motives. But this does not mean that one might not take up this work for a little while because of the unique experience it provides one. Some of our great mission centres, such as Tōkyō, Peking and Shanghai, are fascinating places in which to spend a year or two. With missions expanded into a movement which builds colleges, universities, hospitals and similar institutions, opportunities are provided for an interesting service. What bright graduate from an American college would not be willing to spend a year or two in these fascinating centres and in such a graduate school of experience if travel is paid and a salary is given sufficient to cover expenses?

In fact, just because our mission work is in-

creasingly becoming more and more like the work in the home lands, particularly in our great educational centres, where we are building up great colleges and universities, there is a real danger that there will be a growing number of those who choose the work for a short period for what the experience will do for them rather than for what they might do for the work. In proportion as we are succeeding in making missions a real power in the world which reaches out through various channels to dominate the life of the world, in that proportion we seem to be in danger of having those with rather worldly motives join the ranks and so indirectly defeat the high purpose. An amazingly large per cent quit the mission field at the end of a few years. This percentage could hardly be so large if only those with worthy motives joined this work.

But what is a worthy motive? What is the Christian motive of those who take this task seriously?

An analysis here is rather revealing. In one sense all of us are in it out of a sense of loyalty to Christ—loyalty to the Kingdom of God which He came to establish. In certain moods we say with Paul, " Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." In other moods we rejoice in being co-workers with Him in " bringing together into one the children of God that are scattered abroad." It is a loyalty which drives us to our task often against our per-

sonal inclinations and out of a sheer sense of duty, or a vision of the worthwhileness of it all, the supreme satisfaction of doing a work which in one's best moments he realizes to be a creative work in fellowship with Christ. Or, again, it is out of a realization of the world's deep need and the conviction that in Christ that need can be met, that we engage in this task. This, in general, is our motive, and it always has been the motive of those who have seriously given their lives to the missionary enterprise.

But if this motive is analyzed a little further one finds rather striking differences between the average present-day missionary and the average missionary of an earlier generation. If one reads, e. g., some of the missionary journals or addresses of even a generation ago one is struck at once with the difference of emphasis on the *Why* of missions between then and now. Generally speaking, the earlier generation of missionaries went out to "save souls," as they expressed it—to save the souls of the heathen from eternal damnation. The missionary addresses of a generation ago indulged in picturing how many thousands were passing to their eternal doom every day, hour and minute; hence the need of haste to reach them with the Gospel before they died. The fear of God was big in their own lives and to save souls from the wrath of an angry God, or rather to preach a gospel that would save souls from this wrath, and preach it

because commanded to do so, was a dominant motive. This motive prompted many to face hardships and death itself. Their primary concern was to be faithful in carrying out their divine commission, leaving to God the consequences of their witness bearing.

"Who would not be willing to endure the scorching heat of a sultry region a few fleeting days," writes Samuel Ruggles, one of the first missionaries to Hawaii, "if thereby they may be instrumental of plucking immortal souls from the scorching of eternal burning." Samuel Ruggles apparently had no particular liking for the Hawaiian people before he reached the islands. What he had was "a love for souls" as a Christian duty, and he was willing to be an instrument for saving souls even though it cost him his own life. Now, whatever we moderns may think about this old way of putting it, and however true it is that we are not merely seeking to save souls out of this present evil world, but rather human lives for this world and the world to come, there was something in this old motive which gave a real drive to men's lives and which a good many moderns seem to lack. It had a drive to it because it grew out of a profound conviction that the spiritual world is tremendously real and that man's life has eternal significance.

In the second phase of the development of the missionary motive the emphasis is shifted some-

what from the desire to save souls from eternal damnation and the wrath of an angry God to the love of God which includes all men and to a desire to share with others the great good that we have experienced in Christ. As missionaries began to know more about "the heathen," they began to look upon them not simply as "lost souls," but as human beings who are a part of God's great family. As they began to know certain individuals whom they learned to love they began to see in them many evidences that God loved them long before they ever came. Starting with an experience of the love of God in their own lives, they went forth to bring this to others, and in this they found much that was lovely in those to whom they came. This does not mean that they ceased to think of them as immortal souls who needed to be saved from sin, but only that the approach and the emphasis were different.

But in more recent years there is a further change in the expression of the missionary motive. It grows out of the whole change of emphasis in much of our modern thought which begins with man rather than with God. We are living in an age where we talk much about democracy, brotherhood, and the rights of all to have a share in the good things of life. The non-Christian peoples of the world are as truly a part of the human race as we are, and therefore they are entitled to receive from us our very best. Out of consideration for

our fellowmen, then, we go forth to bring to the non-Christian peoples the riches that are in Christ Jesus. Comparatively little is said about "saving souls from eternal perdition," but much about bringing new life to the ancient peoples of the world. This, too, is a worthy motive, though it must be admitted that the abundant life which we are trying to bring to the non-Christian world is frequently conceived of too much in terms of the externals of civilization which loom so large in our modern life. We moderns need a little more of that old "passion for souls," however much this needs to be restated in new language.

The Fear of God, the Love of God, and the Love for men—these are the three phases of the missionary motive, or rather three different emphases, and all three are worthy motives if each of them is combined with the other two.

We are, however, on the point of developing a fourth phase which is again a motive rooted in fear—not the fear of God, but the fear of men. "If we do not Christianize the non-Christian peoples of the world what will become of our Christian civilization?" is the form in which this motive of fear is finding expression today. Not to save the souls of the heathen from eternal damnation by instilling in them the fear of an angry God, not to proclaim to them the love of a Heavenly Father, and not because we look upon them as brothers and parts of God's great family, but rather because

we fear the consequences for ourselves and for Christian civilization in general if China's 400,000,000, India's 300,000,000 and Japan's disciplined 60,000,000 are not Christianized before they learn the secrets of modern science and equip themselves with the deadly weapons of modern warfare. This fear is not altogether groundless, but if our missionary motive sinks to that low level of self-interest then, indeed, our enterprise is doomed. There is a real danger that this motive will be more and more stressed because it appeals to the deep instinct of self-preservation, and with the recent developments in the Pacific, men are thinking more and more in terms of a possible conflict between the so-called " Christian nations " of the West and the non-Christian East. We need to be on our guard lest we yield to the temptation which this atmosphere creates. It is so easy to appeal to this motive of fear and self-preservation.

And there is one other motive which is developing alongside this motive of self-protection and which is really a phase of it. It is the motive of gain. We protect ourselves best by dominating the non-Christian world with our ideals and standards, and in general by winning them to our type of civilization. This, in turn, creates in the non-Christian nations a desire for the things that we have to give, particularly the things pertaining to the externals of life. Or, to put it in other language: " Where the missionary goes as a pioneer,

there the merchant can soon follow with his goods. Missions are good for business. The more we educate Asia's hordes, the more they will buy from us." Of course, it is true that missions elevate the standard of living, and that where the missionary goes the trader soon finds an open market, but that is a miserable motive to which to appeal when we try to get funds from our big business men for our world task.

There is, in fact, a real danger today of thinking of missions so much in terms of a world movement which is gradually Westernizing all peoples that even missionaries, who on the whole have worthy motives, are placing entirely too much emphasis upon those things in their work in which the West is so peculiarly rich and not enough upon the things of the spirit which are, after all, quite independent of the external things that mean so much to us modern Western Christians.

Aims

We have passed almost imperceptibly from motives to aims. It is, of course, difficult to keep motives and aims separate, for aims stimulate motives and worthy motives direct us towards right aims. Just what, then, are we really trying to accomplish in our great missionary enterprise?

It is not surprising that even those who are engaged in this work are more or less confused at times and unable to give an intelligible answer.

The movement has become so large and it has so many ramifications that it is often difficult to see just what bearing certain parts of it have on our main purpose. Sometimes we do such foolish things and leave undone such obviously sensible things that much of our energy seems to expend itself upon a circular motion which does not really help us forward to our goal. The missionaries are not greater sinners in this respect than the Church in the home lands; in fact, they strike a higher average of Christian sanity and manifest on the whole a more Christian spirit in working out their task than Christians at the home base. But it must be confessed that much of the missionary enterprise lacks that element of directness and that persistent application of efforts along vital lines which one would like to see in a movement which has set for itself a worthy goal.

But more specifically, what is that goal or aim?

Only if defined in the most general terms is there really an agreement among all missionaries on this most important point. Probably all would agree that our supreme purpose is to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to interpret Him to men and to win men to Him. "Christ to the world we sing, The world to Christ we bring," is the way the familiar hymn puts it. But just what does that mean when we come to a more specific formulation of our aim?

We find very striking differences which at points

amount to antagonistic conceptions; and this, more than anything else, explains why not more is accomplished on the mission fields with the annual expenditure of millions of dollars and the efforts of thousands of workers. This disagreement in even the formulation of our major aims grows, of course, out of the misunderstandings and disagreements among Christians in the home lands as to the nature of religion and its relationship to the other spheres of life. Missionaries in most countries are nearer to one another in their views and aims than the churches at home are, because by the sheer force of circumstances they are compelled to think more in terms of a vital religion, but even so there is a lamentable disagreement among them.

There is, e. g., a rather large number of missionaries who think of their work almost exclusively as one of saving a few souls out of an evil world and from the wrath to come. They speak of their work as " witness bearing," and their emphasis is on just a few truths which they proclaim widely. Some of them are so imbued with the idea that we are living in the last days and that the Lord is coming so soon that they do not deem it necessary to establish schools which in turn might train a native Christian leadership. For this work no particular sort of leadership is essential. All that is needed is a faithful and zealous repetition of a few simple truths. Religion is wholly unrelated to our ordi-

nary life in their thoughts. While they themselves as Westerners share in the benefits of our scientific age they do not regard these things as of any value for their native converts, and in fact they would rather keep these things out of their lives. They pride themselves that they teach the natives only the Bible and boast that they are developing in their field a pure New Testament Christianity with special emphasis on those passages which speak of last things. General education is looked upon as unimportant if not as a temptation by which men of simple faith are brought into contact with the modern world and so endangered. It must be obvious that with such a conception of religion, and with such an aim, missionaries may succeed in winning individuals here and there who are true men of God, but certainly this is not an adequate aim.

The great majority of missionaries, however, conceive of their aim quite differently. They think of religion as a Christ-like type of life and therefore they seek not only to win individuals for that kind of life, but also through such individuals to Christianize all life's relationships, that is, to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. Just as in the home lands, so on the mission fields, there is not always the same emphasis by all. Some place the emphasis upon winning the individual and others upon organizing society as far as possible along Christian lines, but it is becoming increasingly clear that our primary aim as missions must be the

former. After all, it is rather foolish to talk about organizing society along Christian lines unless there are a goodly number of real Christian individuals to carry this through. By this we do not mean to say that the results of our missionary work can be judged purely by the number of individuals who definitely become Christians and join the Church, but unless we do win a goodly number of those who become out-and-out Christians and who fully identify themselves with the Christian movement, our aim will not be achieved.

It is not enough simply to create a genial semi-Christian atmosphere in the mission fields or to establish a general "Christian civilization," consisting of good manners, Western style of dress and a love for Western style of pleasures and such things. As some one has put it, "There is a real danger of the East becoming inoculated with a mild form of Christianity which will make it immune to the real thing." No, we must produce the genuine article—men and women who have the Christ-like spirit and who give expression to that spirit in all their relationships. We hasten to say that in most cases that is the type that is being reproduced on mission fields. In fact, it is refreshing to see what a difference it makes in a man's life when he becomes a Christian. Somehow the contrast is sharper than in the home lands.

But our aim as missions is further to organize such individuals into a church, which church is, of

course, only a means to an end, and not an end in itself. It may be that in the home lands many of the functions which the Church once exercised should be taken over by other agencies, but certainly on the mission fields the Church is of supreme importance in many ways. It is, first of all, as it was in the first century, a real fellowship of those who have the biggest things of life in common. It is with them not so much a matter of a mere social inheritance, as it seems to be with so many in Christian lands, but it is a brotherhood of those who have sacrificed much in order that they might enter into this fellowship. And then, in the second place, it is the organ which is really to Christianize the nation. After all, the work of missions is only a preliminary work; the main task must devolve upon the native church. We build, then, most permanently in our missionary work where we lay the foundations for a church which can propagate itself and gradually take over the full responsibility of Christianizing the nation.

It may be asked, Is our missionary aim achieved when a church has been established which can stand on its own feet and propagate itself?

There are two answers given to this question. One theory of missions holds that our aim has been achieved when a reasonably strong church has been established. The other holds that as long as there are large sections of the population in any land which in no real sense have had an oppor-

tunity to hear the Gospel, it is the duty of missions to stay on the job. Obviously, both these answers are relative. When, e. g., is a church really established and strong enough to do the work that waits to be done? Or, when have all people really had an adequate opportunity to hear the Gospel? Even when a church is well established and able to propagate itself we must keep in mind the ratio between the strength of that church and the task that needs to be accomplished. Until this strength is at least remotely commensurate with the task, it would seem that missions have a place in one form or another.

Perhaps our missionary aim in Japan will be seen more clearly if we state it a little differently. Our aim is, first, something that we do *in* Japan; then it is something we do *for* Japan, and, finally, it is something we do *with* Japan.

As a task *in* Japan, it is, as we have already pointed out, the winning of individuals for Christ and organizing these into a church which is able to propagate itself and add to its fellowship an ever widening circle.

As a task *for* Japan, our missionary aim stresses primarily the Christianizing of all the relationships of life, so that increasingly all the normal activities of the people shall be Christian in spirit. This is chronologically the second phase of our work. At the beginning this would have been impossible, but when there is once a strong group of Christians, as

we now have in certain centres in Japan, and when Christianity has in a way won the confidence of the nation then it becomes good strategy to stress this second phase. What can Christianity do for our nation? is a peculiarly pertinent question on mission fields today. With the rising tide of nationalism throughout the Orient this becomes an effective appeal with many whom the individual appeal would not reach. The East is less individualistic than the West and thinks more in terms of the family, the group, and now the nation. If, then, Christianity can show that it has a message for the nation as well as for the individual there will be a better chance of getting a hearing. This is peculiarly true in Japan, where religion and state have always been so intimately connected. Religion is regarded as either an enemy of the state or as identical in interest with that of the state. In the early days, as we shall show in a later chapter, Christianity was regarded as the chief enemy of the state. Today, Japan is ready to see in it a vital force that can strengthen the nation; but only will it be so recognized if Christians can bring their message to bear upon the concrete problems that face Japan as a nation today.

Then, in the third place, our aim may be stated as a task *with* Japan. It is only in the past few years that this aspect has come to the front. Not merely what we can do *in* Japan for certain individuals, nor what we can do *for* Japan in Chris-

tianizing Japanese society, but what we can do *with* Japan as a co-worker in building up a better world. Perhaps nothing makes a stronger appeal today than a presentation of Christianity as a power working for friendly relationships between the nations and the establishment of a world brotherhood in which Japan shall have a share as an equal with other great nations. Missions in this connection cease to be a work which the more favored nations carry on for the benefit of the less favored peoples, but become a great co-operative enterprise in which the best of all peoples work together against common enemies and for the common good. Christianity as the religion of a new internationalism is an approach that will reach many Japanese hearts where other approaches fail. In fact, all our other activities as missions will become increasingly difficult and we shall fail in our aims unless we can make a country like Japan feel that Christianity has a message for our international relationships and that Japan is welcomed as a co-worker with the Christian nations in bringing in the Kingdom of God.

Attitudes

This brings us naturally to the question of attitudes in our missionary work. By this we mean both our attitudes as individual missionaries and the attitudes of the Church and the nation we represent towards the people among whom we labour.

A worthy Christian motive and a high Christian aim are, of course, basic in our missionary enterprise, but they are no more so than the attitude we have in doing the work. In fact, more failures are due to wrong attitudes than to wrong aims and motives. On first thought it might seem that a pure motive and a worthy aim would guarantee a Christian attitude in working out the aim. Somehow or other this does not always follow. In fact, it is the exceptional missionary who manifests consistently the right attitude towards the people for whom and with whom he works. Over and over again the work of sincere Christian men and women counts for very little indeed, largely because with all their zeal and effort they fail in this respect. Why is this so often the case?

The very nature of the missionary task seems to carry with it certain assumptions which almost inevitably disqualify the missionary from having the right attitude towards the people. The missionary goes to the foreign field because he feels that he has something that is superior to what the people of that land have, and that usually means that he carries with him a sort of "superiority complex," which he seldom outgrows, no matter how hard he tries, and which, of course, becomes a real barrier between himself and those whom he is trying to reach.

This "superiority complex" grows out of two things which make up the very substance of his

life. One is the tacit assumption that the civilization which he represents is superior to the culture of the people among whom he labours. The other is the even more natural assumption that the religion he has come to bring to the "benighted heathen" is infinitely superior to what they already have. If it were not so, why should he come? Therefore, the very *Why* of missions and the *What* of missions, *i. e.*, the very motives and aims of missionaries carry with them almost inevitably this "superiority complex," which few missionaries ever outgrow. How can they outgrow it without giving up these basic assumptions? And if these basic assumptions are not correct, what business has the missionary in going to another people to teach them his own religion and way of life?

That is just the question many among the non-Christian peoples have always asked. "What business has the missionary to set himself up as a teacher of others?" They do not, as a rule, ask the missionary to come. And, when he comes unasked, they do not receive him with open arms as one who has something to give which they very much want. The picture that has been so often painted of the "heathen" nations waiting for the coming of the missionary is, in most cases, a false picture. Usually it takes years before the missionary is welcome, and even then only a small per cent. find their way to the heart of the people. In one way, as we said in chapter one, it is easier for

missionaries to make contacts today than in the past, since there are groups everywhere which gladly accept the standards of life which the missionaries represent, but, on the other hand, just because many of the peoples in mission lands know more about us and are developing a national and race consciousness such as we ourselves have, is the chief reason why now, more than ever, they resent in the missionary anything that savours of this sense of superiority.

But let us trace briefly the development of this problem.

Our early missionaries, as we have seen, went out primarily to save individuals. They had little knowledge about the people to whom they went, about their culture and religion. They usually assumed that the native religions were as false as their own was true. Their own, therefore, had the right of way just as naturally as that truth should replace falsehood. Fortunately, they had a strong sense of their own sinfulness and of God's grace in their own lives so that they ascribed to His grace what they themselves were. " By the grace of God I am what I am," wrote the first foreign missionary, and that is what they said. And, further, they sincerely believed that God's grace could do for the heathen what it had done for them. And, again, they had very little respect for the value of their own civilization as such, for the world in which they lived was essentially evil in their sight

and nothing of which to boast. Neither was there such a marked superiority in the externals of civilization between the East and the West a hundred years ago as there was during the past few decades. All these factors explain why the early missionaries had less of the "superiority complex" than that which our generation of missionaries have. And even if they had it when they set forth from their home lands, they had it knocked out of them rather ruthlessly by the way they were received by the "heathen." They were treated with little respect and sometimes with open contempt. Then the progress in achieving the aim which they had set for themselves was so painfully slow and so humanly impossible that they realized very keenly that it was not their own superiority over the heathen that would give them the victory, but only God working through them as humble instruments. They had abundant opportunity to grow in the grace of humility.

But in more recent years we have had the most favorable atmosphere for developing in the missionary this "superiority complex." We have had this enormous development in the externals of life in which the West is so rich and which makes Western civilization in this respect vastly superior to the civilizations of the non-Christian peoples of the world. Then, further, we have seen the peoples of the mission fields turning eagerly to the West for these material things. The very reason for

tolerating the presence of the missionary was often because he could teach them how to acquire this rich material side of our life. Everything the missionary said and did was instructive. The clothes he wore and the food he ate were object lessons in acquiring this phase of Western civilization which they admired so much. The missionary's standard of living was far above that of the average native. It was usually equal to that of the very highest classes. And in some countries it was the upper classes that were most eager to learn of these Western ways of life.

Now the missionary would not be human if in such an atmosphere he did not develop a "superiority complex," if he did not already have one when he left his native land. Strange to say, for a while this attitude was not altogether a hindrance to his work. In fact, it gave the missionary a sort of authority which he carried successfully over into the sphere of religion; and while it did not exactly commend the religion of the humble Nazarene to the people it did make them respect Christianity as the religion of this wonderful White Man from the West. As a part of this wonderful civilization of the West, Christianity was often superficially accepted. We do not wish to imply that all who accepted it did so for this reason. There were, of course, a goodly number all along who became Christians out of the highest motives and in whose hearts the spirit of God found a true response.

But we wish to point out that there have been times in almost every one of the Oriental countries when Christianity made its appeal largely because it was the religion of Western civilization. Japan passed through that period in the eighties of the last century. China, and even India, have been in that mood at times, and among the more backward peoples of the world the material aspects of our civilization to this day make a strong appeal and in a measure commend the missionary as the representative of a superior people.

But we have now passed very definitely into an entirely different situation in the Orient as a whole, and in Japan most emphatically. On the one hand, Japan has mastered the technique of the externals of our civilization. In fact, the younger generation is so accustomed to these wonders of modern life that it does not think of them as having come from the West, but regards them as its natural inheritance. And, on the other hand, the Orient in general, and Japan in particular, is now quite well informed about the seamy side of our Western life, and therefore is no longer greatly impressed with the superiority of our civilization. One of the striking developments throughout the Orient during the past decade has been just this loss of respect for things Western and the corresponding turning of the people to their own spiritual inheritance. The missionary from the West is then no longer looked up to as a uniquely superior

creature, but he is at best as they themselves are. Thus, whatever standing he is to have among them will depend upon what he is in himself rather than upon what he is as a representative from a " Western superior race or civilization."

His " superiority complex," natural as it may be to him, and comparatively harmless as it was only a few decades ago, is now of all things most objectionable. He must either suppress it himself or he will have it knocked out of him in one way or another; most likely by being effectively isolated and ignored. No amount of high sense of Christian duty to preach the Gospel and no amount of that thing we call " Christian love " will avail much unless in his attitude he comes down to the level of the people for whom and with whom he seeks to work. As a certain Japanese Christian once put it, " We Japanese do not appreciate much being loved by missionaries with ' Christian love ' if in their heart of hearts they do not really like us and live with us as friends." That means that it will be more and more difficult to work *for* Japanese unless we can learn to work *with* Japanese as our friends and equals.

But much of our mission work in most fields is still organized on the old basis which assumes that the missionary, just because he is a member of a mission from some Western nation, is superior to a native worker of equal training and experience. A young missionary is sent to the field. After a year

or two of language study he may be put in charge of a half-dozen or more churches which are financially still dependent upon mission funds. Some of the pastors of these churches are men of high education and long Christian experience. In fact, there are a good many cases in Japan where such pastors have not only had as many educational advantages as the young missionary who is now placed over them as a sort of Bishop, but who are quite his superior in several ways, especially in the important point of knowing much more about the work than the missionary knows. But since the latter is a member of the mission which is conducting this work in the sense that it supplies some of the extra funds, he is "given charge." It is only natural that in a short time we see the missionary develop into a little boss, and the next stage in the development is trouble between him and the high-spirited native pastor, who naturally resents the system. Now, the young missionary is not really to blame. He is the natural product of a system under which he works. Only the exceptional man can resist the atmosphere and work as an equal with his native co-worker.

We have been speaking of the attitude of the individual missionary. It is equally important that we get a new and more Christian attitude towards mission fields in the churches in the home lands. It is quite plain that in the minds of the vast majority of Christians in America missions are a sort

of charity enterprise, and this carries with it the flavour of a work which is done by a superior for an inferior. To this day the missionary appeal that is most effective is one that pictures pathetic scenes of poverty and degradation. The more vivid one can picture the physical needs of a people the more likely is he to get a response. That in itself is not a bad thing. In fact, it is natural that visible and tangible suffering and need should make a strong appeal to men's hearts. And there is enough on mission fields to make such an appeal not only legitimate but necessary, if one is concerned with giving facts as they are. But, nevertheless, this conception of missions as being exclusively a "charity enterprise," is a very one-sided one and its popularity has an unfortunate effect on the missionary who tells the story. He is always tempted to emphasize the worst aspects of the people's life. What he tells may all be true enough, but it is not the whole truth. The sum total of the effect produced is really a distortion of the facts. As long as "the heathen" did not know what was being said about them in the churches of the West it was not quite so serious a matter,—though a one-sided story is never justifiable—but today they know what is often the appeal that is made on behalf of their people, and many of them resent it most bitterly.

This does not mean that missionaries should not tell of the dark side of life, but it does mean that

they should seek to give something about the brighter aspects also. The Christian constituency in the home land must be educated until missions are seen not merely as a work that lifts a benighted people from the depths of its degradation but also one that helps a proud, self-respecting nation to attain that fuller life which we believe can come only as a people has Christ. If the American business man needs the Christian ideals and the strength to carry those ideals into practice through fellowship with Christ, then the Japanese business-man can also be shown to need this same sort of help, without it being necessary to paint all non-Christian Japanese business men as inveterate liars and crooks. And if it can be shown that American college and university students need Christ in their lives to attain the fullest realization of their capacities and to develop in them a spirit that ministers unto others, then Japanese college and university students, too, can be shown to need this same Christ, without it being necessary to picture all non-Christian young men of Japan as immoral and selfish. And even the slums of Oriental cities, with all their horror, can be pictured without putting all the blame for such conditions on the character of that particular race or as being wholly the product of their inferior religions. The truth is that many of the worst things found in the Orient today are at least in part the product of influences that have gone out from Western nations; and it is only

fair that we also send forth influences for good to offset this, without thereby developing in ourselves a feeling of inherent race superiority.

In other words, our mission work must be put exactly upon the same basis as our Christian work in our home lands. It must be a work that we do with our Christian brethren of those lands for our fellow-men who, too, have a right to the riches that are in Christ Jesus, and who with equal opportunities may be trusted to bring forth just as fine Christian fruits as we ourselves bear. After all, "what hast thou that thou didst not receive?"

But an even more serious problem of right attitudes than the one we have been discussing is the attitude of Western nations as nations towards Oriental peoples. Something must be done to check the overbearing attitude which the White peoples of the West have assumed towards the Brown peoples of the East. Christianity must inculcate a spirit of respect for other peoples. If we fail in this, then it will be more and more difficult for representatives from our so-called Christian nations to go as missionaries to the proud peoples of the East.

The present situation really creates a new aim of missions. Some of us will have to give a good deal of time and strength now serving as interpreters of the best in the East to the peoples of the West and of the best in the West to the East. With a new meaning Paul's words come to us when

he says, " We are ambassadors therefore, on behalf of Christ, as though God were entreating by us "; and again, " he gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation." We must, of course, continue to do this in the sense in which Paul meant these words, namely, reconcile men to God, but we must, in addition, now reconcile nations to one another, or else our whole effort to establish the Kingdom of God on earth will be futile and we might as well go back to that fragmentary ideal of the older generation of missionaries who aimed only to save men out of an evil world, and let the world order be what it might.

Perhaps it enables us to get the right attitude towards others when we see that in carrying on our missionary work we are just as truly enriching our own lives as we are helping others. Since the world has become so much contracted in recent years and every part is inextricably and vitally bound up with every other part it must be clear that it is becoming next to impossible for us to maintain our Christian inheritance without sharing it with others. The solidarity of the human race is not a mere theory, but an actual fact. This fact may work for good or for evil. Which of the two it is to be depends largely upon our attitude towards others.

We believe it is going to work for good, and that for two main reasons. The first is that as we give to others what we have ourselves we are by that

very process compelled to rethink and relive our spiritual possessions and Christian inheritance. No experience is more illuminating than an attempt to interpret to a people that differs from us in culture and religious inheritance the things of our own inner life. It at once reveals the fact that many things which loom so large in our religious discussions and controversies are quite secondary matters, if not less than that; and, on the other hand, the real fundamentals of our faith stand forth in their unique grandeur. As one sees developed in the lives of people that differ from us racially and culturally certain characteristics which have always marked the true Christian down through the ages, above all else the Christ-like spirit, one becomes strengthened in one's own Christian faith and confirmed in the convictions about essentials.

Then, further, as we share the Gospel with others we find not only that the things that are precious to us are being reproduced in their lives, but that actually new and fresh aspects of the Christian life are revealed which we ourselves would never have experienced without them. In other words, Christ has yet many things to say unto us which we can not bear until His spirit has so enlarged our hearts that we are ready to learn from those whom we go forth to teach. It is quite certain that we American Christians—active, progressive, yea, aggressive as we are—have much to learn from our more

quiet, gentle, humble and refined Christian brothers of the East. In fact, we shall never even approximate the meaning of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man until we see how the Father's love can manifest itself in the lives of these peoples, and till we actually, in all life's relationships, treat the Brown peoples of Asia as truly our brothers—not merely as our " brethren " with the flavour of a mere religious duty, but as our brothers who want of life what we want. This is the attitude that is needed above all else today.

III

THE NATIVE RELIGIONS—A HINDRANCE OR AN ASSET

IN our second chapter we spoke of the importance of right attitude on the part of Christian workers towards the peoples among whom they labour. The attitude is as important as the message itself, for the message is often most clearly expressed through our attitude.

What, then, should be our attitude towards that which is most sacred to a people and which determines so largely a nation's real life, namely, the religion of a people? Should we regard the native religions as an obstacle to our Christian enterprise? Should we ignore them, or should we look upon them as constituting, in a measure at least, an asset for our purpose?

We get some light on this problem if we examine briefly what attitudes missionary workers have taken in the past. It is, of course, well known that the early Catholic missionaries looked upon non-Christian religions as essentially false and as an unqualified hindrance to their work. Writes Father Froez, in 1586, about Japanese Buddhism, " They should recognize that the teachings of the

Shingon sect, like that of the others, was only an invention of devils and a tissue of lies."

Our early Protestant missionaries felt much as the Catholics did. They knew, of course, very little about the native religions, especially little about the higher and better aspects of them as expressed in their sacred Scriptures or in the lives of the founders and other great men. They looked upon all non-Christian faiths as something which cumbered the ground and which had to be cleared away before they could successfully sow the Christian seed. In fact, there are a good many to this day who have some such attitude. It would never occur to them to wonder whether God might not "at sundry times and in divers manners" have spoken to other ancient peoples besides those of the Old Testament. Even after seeing with their own eyes some of the nobler things in the culture of the non-Christian peoples, they were inclined to discount them and at best treat them as a partial good which is the enemy of the best, and not as possible stepping stones towards the highest. They were quick to see all the corruption and evil in the lives of the "heathen," and slow to acknowledge the good; whereas their own religion and culture they expected to be judged by only the best in them.

We have not altogether got over this unfair way of judging another people's culture, even now. Then, when the "benighted heathen" failed to re-

ceive them with open arms and refused to drop their own religion and life habits in exchange for what the missionary represented, this was ascribed entirely to the dullness of the heathen heart and to the blinding influence of their religion. It apparently did not occur to them to wonder whether the heathen's failure to respond at once might not, in part at least, have been due to the fact that in their own culture and religion they had something of real value, and that the missionary himself, and particularly some of the other representatives of Christian civilization, were not always shining examples of all that is noble and true.

It is only fair to say that few of the early missionaries to Japan took or retained very long such an attitude. The classes of Japanese society with whom they came in contact were the alert, self-respecting students and other progressive elements who could hardly be regarded as "degraded heathen" and as uncivilized. Then, in a very short time, they demonstrated their ability to assimilate everything the missionary had to offer. Many of the early converts were men of sterling qualities which they owed to their pre-Christian training. This was specially true of men who had been trained in the Confucian schools of ethics. When such men accepted Christ they did not thereby reject as false all that they had learned as Confucianists, but rather regarded their earlier teachers as schoolmasters who, in a measure, had

prepared them for the fuller truth and life in Christ. This fact about the early Christian converts in Japan made it comparatively easy for missionaries to appreciate the good in Japanese culture and religion.

This does not mean, however, that missionaries in Japan took up seriously the problem of working out just what in the old should be retained and fulfilled by the Christian message and what should be rejected. That problem is only gradually being worked out, and even now there is still a great deal of confusion on this point. The reason why the first two generations of missionaries did so little along this line is because the Japanese themselves, after about 1880, turned for a while with blind enthusiasm to Western civilization and looked upon their own as something to be cast aside. Also their attitude toward their own religion in that period was one of indifference and neglect. This naturally led missionaries to pay little attention to the native religions. The whole trend seemed to be away from them, particularly among the classes with whom the missionaries came into most intimate contact. It was enough to preach the truth as this was in Christ, and it seemed hardly worth while to bother about the fragmentary truths that might be contained in the native faiths. In short, then, this second attitude was one not of opposition but rather one of indifference to the native religions. This is the attitude which the majority

of missionaries in Japan take to this day, though a growing number are beginning to realize that we can not indefinitely ignore the movements that are now taking place in the older religions if we are to present effectively the Gospel of Christ.

With the development of the science of religion and the growing interest among Westerners in Oriental religions, and particularly with the growing knowledge of the sacred scriptures of these religions, an atmosphere is being created which is rapidly bringing about a new attitude towards other religions. In fact, the growth of interest in the science of religion owes much to missionaries themselves, for a number of them have contributed to the knowledge which Western scholars have of the various religions of the world. This whole movement is still too young for us to be able to say just what the outcome of it will be. We are convinced, however, that it will have far-reaching results, not only on the missionary enterprise as such, but also upon Christianity as a whole, and particularly upon the great problems as to what are the fundamentals in the Christian religion and what things are only secondary or of purely local and temporary importance. No one can fully understand the nature of Christianity who does not look at it at times from the standpoint of other religions and systems which are still living forces in the world.

Unfortunately, in some quarters, the first effect

of this study of the non-Christian religions has been rather disastrous. There is a certain type of scholarship abroad today which seems to regard it as a sign of broad-mindedness to be over-appreciative of the good points in the non-Christian religions, and which, on the other hand, tends to interpret the richest passages of the Christian Bible in terms of primitive elements in lower faiths from which they are supposed to have been derived. Such scholars delight to take a few isolated passages in the sacred books of the East and read into them all the rich content of our highest Christian values and meanings. In translating religious terms they play fast and loose with the meaning of words, and in this way smuggle a great deal into their translations which never was in the original. Then, further, to reduce all religions to essentially the same level, they whittle down the New Testament meanings and the teachings of Christ until they appear as but slight variants of what can be found in the sacred books of all advanced religions. All of the chief historic religions are thus placed on the same level and regarded as standing for essentially the same thing. They hold that what Christianity has to say on the great problems of human life—about God and man and the relationship of man to God and to his fellowmen—these other religions also say, "nur mit ein bischen andern Worten."

Such an attitude has become very popular in

certain circles in Japan. Not many missionaries hold this position. Those who do, as a rule, do not stay long on the job, but return to their native heath, for what would be the sense of bringing to the Japanese the Christian message if they already have all that is essential in their own religions? But among Japanese scholars this is a rather common attitude. Indirectly, it is, of course, an unconscious confession of their admiration for Jesus and His teachings and way of life. They interpret the best in their own faiths in terms of Christianity and so gradually smuggle a great deal of Christian content into the native religions. With them it is not, as with Western scholars, a desire to be broad-minded; it grows rather out of national and race pride and a normal desire, perhaps, to exhibit their own culture and religion as being as lofty as the best that the West has—the West which, after all, they admire and like which they wish to become. but which they do not want to follow too openly. Their real ideal is an eclectic religion with elements taken from all the historic faiths and which thus would become a world religion. Only as humanity as a whole has contributed to this world religion, they reason, can it ever become a religion for all humanity. At the centre of this position is a spirit of tolerance towards all which is captivating to our generation. It is a fair question, however, whether this spirit of tolerance has not its real ground in a spirit of indifference to all vital religion and

whether it is not a mere intellectual interest in religion as a universal phenomenon, and not a deep concern to find in religion a real way of life.

This attitude towards religion has found concrete expression in Japan in the organization known as the *Ki-ichi-Kōkwai,* " Returning-to-one-association." It has in its membership prominent educators, business men and religious teachers, among whom are Shintoists, Confucianists, Buddhists and Christians. The underlying assumption is that all religions are in substantial agremeent; hence the name of the association, " Returning-to-one." Of course, in one sense one can say that all historic religions are but phases of Religion, that is, in the sense in which it is possible to frame a definition of Religion which covers all historic faiths; but if the science of religion has taught us any one thing it is just this, that a definition of Religion, to be true of all historic religions, must be so general that it practically says nothing. A broad-mindedness which sees in all religions essentially the same thing is possible only for those who either do not know much about the actual aims and ideals of the various faiths as they actually exist or who think of religion simply as a sort of instrument of society—an instrument which binds individuals together into groups, communities, and nations.

No questions are asked as to objective standards of truth or types of life which a religion may foster.

It is the attitude which is finding expression in such statements as these: "A nation's religion is an expression of a nation's genius, and so one form of religion is best for one kind of people and another form, for another type. Christianity may be the best religion for the West, Buddhism is best suited for the East. It is therefore really foolish to take Christianity to Orientals, since they already have what really suits their needs and fits in best with their own peculiar characteristics. And, after all, at bottom these religions are the same and seek the same ends." Westerners who reason thus forget that the New Testament is not an Anglo-Saxon or Nordic book and that Christianity, in its origins, is also an Oriental religion. And they forget, further, that if the Apostle Paul had reasoned in that way Europeans and Americans might still be worshipping various tribal deities.

It seems rather high time that those of us who are engaged in the missionary enterprise face this problem seriously. Either let us give up our foolish enterprise as a task that is wholly superfluous, since the non-Christian world already has what we are expecting to bring it, and has it in forms better adapted to their peculiar needs, or let us come to a clearer understanding as to how our religion differs from the various non-Christian faiths in the real essentials. The difference may be simply one of emphasis, but again it may be a radical difference and one so vital that we cannot do other-

wise than go on with this missionary enterprise which seeks to make Jesus Christ known to the world.

We cannot go back to that first attitude of which we spoke and which held that the difference between Christianity and other religions is the difference between the true and the false. There is too much that is true and noble in the culture of the non-Christian peoples to believe that God has left Himself wholly without any witness among these peoples until the Christian missionary came. Neither can we simply ignore the native religions, as many missionaries have done and are still doing, for we cannot interpret Christ effectively unless we relate our message somehow to the hopes and aspirations inspired by these other religions. And, in the third place, we cannot, as we have just intimated, accept the dictum that all advanced religions are in substantial agreement in what they seek and in the answers they give, however much we admire, in those who hold this view, the spirit of tolerance and open-mindedness towards all truth wherever it is found.

We must, of course, be tolerant towards others and open-minded, so that we can see the good and the true under whatever form it appears, but we must, at the same time, be scientific enough to recognize actual differences when they exist and to refuse to bring under one sweeping generalization systems of thought and ideals of life which are at

points diametrically opposed to each other. It is rather strange that in the realm of the physical sciences we always check up sweeping generalizations by a reference to concrete facts, but that in the realm of religion we should be asked to reduce things to a subjective whim or preference and leave no room for an objective reference. No, a true open-mindedness and a real broad-mindedness must take religion more seriously than that. We must have a keener sense of spiritual realities than this dream-world attitude which makes of our religion little more than a haze of beautiful sentiments which change with the climate. There must be an objective reference in religion as well as in other spheres, and it is by this that we must judge as to whether all religions are really in substantial agreement.

Of course, our subjective experience and personal preference have their place in religion, as in everything else. We cannot divest ourselves of this, even if we would. In fact, it is impossible to set up a norm by which to compare and judge religions without a personal preference for what one has found valuable in one's own experience; and to compare the various religions without a norm would be as impossible as judging the speed or direction of a moving object without a fixed point. We confess frankly that we mean to take our own conception of the essentials of Christianity as a sort of norm by which to judge the other religions

of Japan, but we hope to do this with an open-mindedness which admits the possibility of finding in these other religions some truth or some emphasis which may agree with our own experience or even enrich it at certain points.

There are, therefore, certain things which we expect of religion. Put in the most simple way, we may express them as Albert Schweitzer has recently done, as follows: "In religion we try to find an answer to the elementary question with which each one of us is newly confronted every morning, namely, what meaning and what value is to be ascribed to our life? What am I in the world? What is my purpose in it? What may I hope for in this world? . . .

"All questions of religion tend towards the one which comprises them all: How can I conceive of myself as being in the world and at the same time in God?"

Setting the main question about religion in this way is frankly setting it from the standpoint of Christianity, for it grows out of a conviction, born of Christian experience, that our life should have a meaning and permanent value, and that man should find a satisfactory relationship both to his present environment and to the invisible and eternal reality, God. As Schweitzer goes on to say, "I do not want to consider my existence merely as one which rises and perishes among the billions of billions of beings which constitute the universe,

but as a life which has a value, if I comprehend it and live it according to true knowledge." Quite right! I, as a Christian who has experienced a value and a meaning in life, " do not want to consider my existence merely as one which rises and perishes among the billions of billions of beings which constitute the universe," but perhaps apart from my experience of life in Christ I can find little meaning and permanent value in life.

This ought to make it clear that from the standpoint of Christianity the battle-ground of religion centres around the problem of the meaning and permanent value of personality. We believe that in our Christian experience we have found valid grounds for holding that the achievement of an ethical personality is the highest good and that it has permanent significance. But human personality can have permanent significance only if personality is somehow at the heart of Things and the goal towards which Things move. In Christ we believe we have the supreme assurance that this is so. We who have seen His perfect personality and we who know how central in His life was the reality of the Heavenly Father are convinced that in Him we have somehow seen the Great Personality, God.

Frankly, then, we must judge other religions by this Christian norm which we obtain from our own Christian experience, as this has vindicated itself not only in our own lives, but in the lives of

Christians down through the centuries. We do this not in ignorance of other views which approach the problem differently or without having critically tested our inherited beliefs and ideals. In fact, it is just because we have pondered over the various answers to life's meaning and value that the religions and philosophies of the world have made that we appreciate the more keenly the Christian emphasis. As one sees how, over and over again, in the non-Christian religions the value of personality is partly recognized and then belittled by a recurrent agnosticism, one appreciates all the more fully the vital message of Christianity which is centred in the beautiful personality of the historic Jesus whose own life is centred in God the Father.

With this Christian norm in mind let us proceed, then, with the study of the relationship of the native religions in Japan to Christianity. Are they a hindrance to Christianity in its evaluation of human life and in its purpose to create personality which shall have permanent significance and value, or do these religions, in part at least, promote the same major interest?

It is customary to speak of three native religions of Japan, namely, Shintō, Confucianism and Buddhism. Strictly speaking, of course, there is only one native religion, namely, Shintō, for the other two are as truly importations as is Christianity. But inasmuch as the other two have been

in Japan so long and have become thoroughly naturalized it is quite legitimate to treat them as native religions. In fact, in the life of the people the three religions are essentially one, for most Japanese consider themselves as Shintōists, Confucianists and Buddhists at one and the same time. For centuries Buddhism and Shintō were regarded as but two sides of the same religion, and Confucianism really never existed as a separate faith, but rather as an ethico-philosophical school within the fold of Buddhism. Some writers like to express the relationship of the three religions by speaking of Shintō as the roots, Confucianism as the branches and leaves, and Buddhism as the fruit of the Japanese tree of culture.

There is some element of truth in this, but Buddhism is really more than the fruit, for it is rooted deeply in Japanese life, and it has been a formative element in much of Japanese civilization. On the other hand, it can hardly be said that the three religions have been brought together into such a complete organic unity as this figure implies. It is rather that in the compromises of life the various elements exist somehow side by side. The most glaring contradictions seem to find a place in the life of the same person, but often this is due to the fact that none of the things for which the three religions are supposed to stand are taken very seriously. The truth is that Buddhism, which is really the dominant force, is responsible for such

a state of affairs. It has always compromised with lower forms of religion, and it justifies the compromises by its own theory of truth, which holds that contradictions are but different sides of the same truth. In the last analysis, truth cannot be known by finite human minds, and therefore it would be rather foolish to take any view too seriously.

Shintō

Let us first consider briefly Shintō and Christianity's relation to it.

The word *Shintō* means "the Way of the Gods." The name was obviously coined after Buddhism entered Japan, in the sixth century, to describe the various local cults which the Buddhists found to be the religion of the Japanese people. Before that time there was evidently no general name for this religion, for the various cults had not been organized into one system to which a common name would be applicable. "This religion was, and is in some of its phases, even today, an animistic and polytheistic Nature Worship with a strong admixture of Ancestor Worship. The forces of nature are personified and anthropomorphized, while the heroes and ancestors, especially those of the royal family, are deified. The soul of Shintō is reverence and implicit obedience to the Mikado; and religion and patriotism are made one. *Yamato Damashii,* "the Spirit of Japan," is largely the

product of this religion, and it has played a great part in the conquest, unification and civilization of the entire country. Japan is regarded by Shintō as the sacred land of the gods; and every mountain, river, rock, tree and cloud is the abode of some deity. But Shintō was really too childish in many of its conceptions, and did not satisfy the deeper needs of the human heart. The rising tide of Japanese civilization, quickened as it was by the introduction of new ideas from the continent, made Shintō more and more inadequate, and Japan was on the whole ready for the new and more elaborate faith of Buddhism."[1] This is what Shintō was in the sixth century, and much of this is true about it to this day.

There is, therefore, much in popular Shintō to which Christianity can take no other attitude than one of uncompromising opposition. Much of it is on an amazingly low plane of religious development. It is difficult to understand how a people as advanced as the Japanese can still give allegiance to a religion so essentially primitive. Strictly speaking, Shintō has no sacred Scriptures, but we may regard the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* as such and the authoritative standards by which to determine the nature of this religion. As one reads these pages one is impressed with their primitive character. It is the sort of legend and mythology

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[1] *Studies in Japanese Buddhism,* A. K. Reischauer, p. 82.

which the Babylonians outgrew over five thousand years ago. How a modern people professes to draw spiritual nourishment from such stories is certainly a puzzle. The only reason these myths have survived to our day is because Buddhism, in the sixth and seventh centuries, compromised with Shintō and incorporated it in its own capacious womb. Christianity cannot repeat this blunder of Buddhism. It must wage relentless war on the gross superstitions and immoral, or rather non-moral, practices of popular Shintō, however sympathetic the Christian worker may be towards the individual Shintōist in his gropings for the divine.

There are movements within modern Shintō showing that the intelligent classes realize the shortcomings of their faith. They are trying to reinterpret Shintō in terms of modern thought. In fact, one or two of the thirteen Shintō sects are tending towards a form of monotheism in their theology, and they are gradually importing into their teachings standards and ideals of modern Japanese life which Shintō had little share in creating, but which present day Shintōists naturally share with other Japanese. This is but one evidence of the fact that modern Japan draws much of its life and inspiration from sources other than its own native religions, and over this fact Christian workers can but rejoice.

But there is another phase of Shintō which con-

stitutes a real problem for Christianity and the solution of which is not altogether clear, even in the minds of our wisest Christian leaders. It grows out of an element in Shintō which has always been central to it and which in reality has permanent meaning and value. We have reference to the spirit of loyalty—loyalty to ruler and country—which Shintō has always sought to enshrine in the hearts of the Japanese people and in which it has succeeded in such an extraordinary measure. We may smile at the old Shintō mythology and at the religious sanctions which Japanese seek to give to their wonderful loyalty to emperor and country by claiming that the imperial family is literally heaven-descended and that the emperor rules not simply by divine right, as European kings claimed for themselves, but by the right invested in him as the Son of Heaven—we may smile at all this, but we cannot belittle the spirit of loyalty itself which fills the heart of every true Japanese and leads him to give his life so readily for the safety of the nation and the glory of its ruler. What Japanese call *Yamato Damashii*, "the Spirit of Japan," is a tremendously real thing and a noble thing, and this is somehow intimately bound up with Shintō. Yea, loyalty to the emperor and country is the highest religion many Japanese know, and any religion which in any way might seek to weaken this spirit of loyalty is naturally regarded as the chief enemy of the nation.

Buddhism met this problem by simply incorporating Shintō with its crude mythology and with its fine emphasis on loyalty in its own all-inclusive system. Christianity cannot do that. However ready Christianity must be to come to terms with this spirit of loyalty to emperor and country, it cannot come to terms with the religious sanctions on which this has been based, at least not with the traditional Shintō forms of these sanctions.

As a matter of fact, Christianity has found this one of its chief difficulties. Just as in the Roman Empire, so in Japan, Christianity was first regarded as an enemy of the state because Christians make loyalty to God and conscience the supreme loyalty, however ready they may be to harmonize this with the highest interests of their country. It is true that the problem is less acute today than it was a generation ago, but it is still a problem. The World War has shown that it is also still a problem in the so-called Christian nations of the West. In Japan the situation became greatly improved after the Russo-Japanese War, for in that war Japanese Christians had a chance to demonstrate their loyalty, but the theoretical difficulty still remained. This fact is appreciated by the Japanese government and, since 1913, a real attempt has been made to relieve non-Shintōists from any possible embarrassments.

The following is, in brief, the solution they offer: Shintō is divided into two parts, namely,

Shintō as religion, and Shintō as a cult of patriotism. The Shintō temples are thus classified into two groups, namely, temples where the various Shinto deities are worshipped, and temples which are to be regarded as shrines of patriotism where the nation's heroes and the members of the imperial family are revered and honoured. All loyal Japanese are expected to resort to the latter from time to time to give expression to their loyalty to emperor and country, while at the former only out and out Shintōists are expected to worship the Shintō deities. Non-Shintōists are free to worship God as they see fit as long as they show their loyalty to the ruler and the nation. It looks like a sort of " Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." At any rate, the officials feel that they have cleared up the difficulty.

As far as the central government is concerned, the requirements are met when a Christian looks upon the shrines of patriotism and the heroes honoured there as an American might look upon the Lincoln Memorial and revere the memory of the great American whose name is there enshrined. In fact, several officials have made just that comparison in conversation with the author. The great difficulty, however, arises from the fact that the Shintō temples set aside by the government as shrines of patriotism are regarded by the great majority of the people as something more than

that, namely, as the great centres of Shintō as a religion, where the spirits of the illustrious dead and the imperial ancestors are worshipped as gods. In fact, the chief deities in Shintō as a religion are just these illustrious heroes and semi-mythological characters whom the government wants to have revered as great patriots. The rural population, in particular, does not at all understand this division which the government has made between Shintō temples and shrines of patriotism, and continues to look upon the latter as the most holy places of their faith. It is as if the government of Italy should set aside St. Peter's as a shrine of a patriotic cult and should instruct all Italians—Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews and infidels—to look upon this historic cathedral of Christianity not as a place where God is worshipped, but only as a shrine where the memory of Italy's illustrious dead is honoured.

And yet the act of the central government is not meaningless; in fact, it means far more than the officials themselves realize. It means that the very citadel of Shintō is being overthrown. The officials of the central government do not say it openly and perhaps they do not realize what their action inevitably involves, but it must be clear to any student of religion that the old form of Shintō is doomed among thinking Japanese and that the religious sanctions which it has supplied for Japanese loyalty are being superseded by other sanctions which

have a wider application than merely to Japan. Above loyalty to the Japanese emperor and to Japan as a country must be loyalty to the King of kings and to His Kingdom of Truth and Righteousness. This need not be in antagonism with the interests of the Japanese state; in fact, it is becoming more and more clear, even to a good many Japanese who are not Christians, that the security of the nation lies in its conformity to this higher law. Many are seeing that the security of the imperial throne does not depend, in this generation, upon the acceptance of the Shintō belief that the emperor is heaven-born, but the throne is safe because the emperor is enthroned as an enlightened ruler in the hearts of his people, among whom the Christian element is most conspicuous for its willingness to lay down its life for the good of the nation in a self-sacrificing service.

That the whole basis of loyalty is undergoing a change is evident from other things besides this attempt of the government to solve the problems created by the traditional Shintō. For example, at the close of the World War a commission was sent to England to study the relationship that obtains there between the royal house and the people. A little later the Crown Prince, now the Prince Regent, was sent abroad that he might see for himself something of the new world in which he, as a future ruler of Japan, would live. The meaning of this is that Japanese statesmen realize per-

fectly well that in Japan, as in the rest of the world, the loyalty of the people must, in the future, rest upon foundations that are more universally valid than those whose sanctions are in the old Shintō mythology.

As far, then, as Shintō is concerned, Christianity has no insuperable obstacles to face. In fact, the best in Shintō, the emphasis on the spirit of loyalty, which was once a real obstacle, can now be converted and sublimated until it becomes a real channel for the Christian message. God as the Lord and Master of our lives, Jesus Christ as the Son of God whose meat and drink it was to do His Father's will, and whose loyalty to the Father's Kingdom prompted an obedience even unto death, and who would enlist us as loyal subjects in that kingdom—these are lines of thought for which modern Shintō has been a real preparation, and with these as a starting point it is possible to lead on to the full Christian message.

There is, of course, much in the Christian message for which Shintō offers little preparation. There is, e. g., little or no sense of sin in Shintō. There is ceremonial impurity and Shintō has a Great Washing to cleanse man of such impurity, but there is very little of that deep sense of sin which in the awakened conscience cries out for forgiveness and for a Saviour. The conception of God is hopelessly anthropomorphic and belittling. The best that can be said of it is that as the nation

was unified and one ruler was enthroned over the various tribal chiefs of prehistoric Japan, so gradually one of the many deities tended to replace all others, though Shintō has never reached a monotheistic position, much less an ethical monotheism. The many deities that are still worshipped are an obstacle to the attempts of educated Shintōists to introduce a more worthy conception of the divine. To try to sublimate these deities seems a hopeless task, for with them is associated too much that is unworthy. The more modern Japan knows about its own native Shintō as this is expressed in its oldest literature and in the customs of the people the more clear it must become that the Christian conception of God and the religion of the New Testament must inevitably replace the beggarly things for which Shintō has stood.

Before leaving Shintō we must point out one new obstacle to Christianity which grows out of the Shintō spirit. Just as we are about to succeed in Japan in sublimating the old spirit of loyalty till it becomes loyalty to God's Kingdom on earth we are faced with the fact that in the Christian nations of the West, which theoretically believe in the higher Christian loyalties, there is a strong reaction in the opposite direction, namely, towards a narrow patriotism and a selfish nationalism fully as narrow as the old Shintō ideal was. While this does not rest on the old Shintō mythology, it does tend to reduce the God of all to a tribal deity and

to make His Kingdom identical with mere national ambitions. If anything will delay the Christian victory over Shintō's lower ideals in Japan it will be this new Pagan patriotism of our so-called Christian nations.

Confucianism

Confucianism presents less of a problem than the one we have been discussing in connection with Shintō. In the first place, Confucianism in Japan has nothing of the outer trappings of religion or the popular degrading practices so common in the religion of the ignorant masses among Shintōists and Buddhists. It exists largely as an ethico-philosophical system of a rather high order.

The five great relationships of human life (Ruler-subject, Father-son, Elder-younger brother, Husband-wife, and Friend-friend) of which Confucianism has so much to say, are, in one form or another, permanent human relationships. Many of the ethical teachings which centre around these have been wrought out of the practical experience of the peoples of Eastern Asia extending over a period of four to five thousand years. It is obvious that this experience must count for something of permanent value, and Christianity can unhesitatingly accept much of this moral wisdom as valid. In fact, many Western nations today need something of the Confucian emphasis on the solidarity of the family and the respect for parents and

elders due from children and youth. It is true that the Confucian emphasis is one-sided and that the individual and the new are usually sacrificed to the interest of the group and the old, it has nevertheless something of real value.

A magnificent demonstration of the good in the family system, as inculcated by Confucianism, was seen at the close of the World War. When the world market in certain war goods suddenly collapsed, hundreds of factories in Japan had to be closed and tens of thousands were thrown out of employment. In an amazingly short time most of these unemployed were absorbed back into the villages from where they had recently come. The strong sense of family responsibility was the secret why these thousands of individuals who had gone forth to seek their fortune found such a ready shelter in time of need. A similar phenomenon took place at the time of the great earthquake. When approximately two million were suddenly rendered homeless, tens of thousands were at once received back in the homes of relatives all over the empire. There were many orphans as a result of the great disaster, and it was supposed that most of these would have to be cared for by charity organizations, but in a few weeks all but a few hundred were claimed by relatives, often by very distant relatives. In short, the sense of family responsibility is so highly developed that in times of crises this becomes a great asset to society, however true it

may be that in ordinary times the hand of the family and of the elders rests too heavily upon the individual member and too frequently checks the legitimate desire of the younger generation to live its own life unhampered by the past.

Though the Father-son relationship is stressed in Japan, it is not regarded as the chief of the five relationships, as is usually the case in Chinese Confucianism. In Japan, the chief is the relationship between ruler and subject. From what has been said about the spirit of loyalty in the native Shintō it can be seen why this should be the case. The best in Shintō is here in perfect accord with Confucianism, and so the one reinforces the other. Loyalty to the emperor is greater than filial piety in Japanese eyes. Confucianism might put into the mouth of the ruler of Japan the words of Jesus, "If any man cometh to me and hateth not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple (subject)." In this difference of emphasis between Japanese and Chinese Confucianism we have, of course, one of the outstanding differences between Japan and China, the former being noted for its remarkably strong central government and for the patriotic spirit of its people, and the latter showing unusual cohesiveness in the family and smaller group, but weakness as a nation and lacking until recently any real national consciousness.

This supreme importance of loyalty to the ruler in Japanese Confucianism has found its most concrete expression in *Bushidō,* the ethical code of the true knight, which almost became an independent system. Here we have loyalty to one's master, not merely exalted as the supreme loyalty, but as the all-determining spirit. The knight regards his life as not his own, but as belonging absolutely to his lord, whom he serves in life and for whose honour he is ready to die at any time. He is ready to die not only in combat with the foe, but even by his own hand if thereby he might vindicate his loyalty and the honour of his lord the better. *Harakiri,* or *Seppuku,* is known the world over as an act of supreme loyalty. As Christians, we may not be able to approve of such a way to express one's devotion, but surely we cannot but admire the spirit that is ready to sacrifice life itself for a chosen ideal. What might not such a spirit achieve when directed towards Christ as the true Lord of life and when the ideals have been sublimated until the true knight learns to fight the real enemies of human life with the sword of the spirit!

Surely in this ideal of loyalty to one's master we have a great asset for Christianity, if we can reinterpret the ideal and direct the loyal heart to a worthy object. We have here really a remarkably adequate mode of thought and attitude of spirit for interpreting to Japanese what Christ did for our salvation. It is practically the same concept

which Anselm used when he formulated his great theory of the Atonement. The ethical ideals that centre around the loyalty of the *Samurai* for his master are, in Japanese life, among the very highest. It is far better to formulate the great truths about the Atonement in this terminology than, for example, in the language of the market place. To portray Christ's life and death as a debt that He has paid on our behalf is to use a terminology which, in Japanese life, is associated with all that is sordid and crooked, namely, the life of the merchant class which, until recently, was regarded as belonging to the lowest sections of society. But to use language which centres around the great loyalty concept is to use language which can easily be freighted with the highest and best meanings. Sin is disloyalty to God, the Lord of life, rather than a debt that has been contracted, and Christ's work on our behalf as a loyal service even unto death rather than as the payment of a debt on our behalf—these form the normal approach to the Japanese mind. Probably both lines of thought are necessary to express the full truth, and more adequate than either are the concepts that centre around the Father-son relationship, the Elder-younger brother, and the Friend-friend relationships, all of which are made quite familiar through Confucian teachings in Japan, though, as we said, they are less stressed than the Ruler-subject relationship.

In short, then, Confucianism in Japan has much that is a real asset for Christianity, and to reinterpret some of its more vital concepts need not present great difficulties to the Christian apologists. From this we should not, however, conclude that Confucianism has an adequate content. While Christianity finds an adequate vehicle of thought there are yet many things which Christ has to say to Japanese Confucianists before the knight of Japan can become the true "knight of God."

Confucianism confines itself too much to the merely human relationships, and Christianity must show how the moral principles that govern these relationships point beyond themselves, namely, to man's relationship to God. Confucianism has, of course, some conception of this in what it calls the Will of Heaven, but this is usually too vague to be of much value. And just because of this Confucianism thinks of man too much in terms of what the natural man already *is* and not sufficiently in terms of what he as a child of God might *become*. The older Confucianism was of all ancient systems the most *this*-worldly and naturalistic. Though its supreme emphasis was an ethical emphasis, which to the Christian naturally would suggest man's relationship to God, its ethical teachings were too much a mere *ethos*, a mere human custom. That is right which man has found to be practicable in the past, and man has found that practicable which fitted in with the ideals of life that he happened to

hold. This inevitably has given Confucianism a backward look rather than a forward one, and it has not left sufficient room for free moral venture and for creative spirits and prophets. It has limited man's vision largely to what *has* been rather than to what is *yet to be*. Such a system easily becomes a vicious circle which simply repeats what has been and which never breaks forth into something new. It points to a golden age in the past and sets for its ideal the imitation of the past. Fortunate is a people if with such a view of life it has an ideal past to which to appeal. When Confucianism was formulated, China had already developed a comparatively high civilization, and especially a rather high degree of practical moral wisdom. For this reason the result of looking only to the past was not as disastrous as it might have been, but it was bad enough and resulted in a great civilization becoming stagnant.

The simple truth is that any religion or system of philosophy which does not make room for the creative element must necessarily deteriorate. By the creative element we mean here the coming into human life of something more than is already present. Not simply that man as a free spirit must be allowed to create the new and the better, but man's life itself must be seen to depend upon a life greater than itself from which comes ever something new and original. It is a question as to whether man is left to what he is, and all prog-

ress that he makes is nothing more than the unfolding of what is in him, or whether there is a creative power which ever comes into his life from without. Christianity holds that there is such a power, the Spirit of the Living God. Confucianism answered this supreme question too much in terms of a closed system, even though it was conceived of in moral terms; and while Confucianism succeeded in giving the culture of eastern Asia remarkable stability it also was responsible for the static and stagnant nature of much of Oriental civilization.

It is true that in later Confucianism this neglect of man's relationship to the Divine was somewhat recognized as a defect. This was particularly true of the Neo-Confucian school of Wang-Yang Ming (1472-1528), and its development in Japan later. These scholars were no longer satisfied with thinking of man merely in terms of the five human relationships, but were concerned with his relationship to the Divine. The moral way of the five relationships, they held, had really cosmic significance. These ways of men become the Way of Man, and the Way of Man becomes the Way of the Universe. Not, that is right which man has found convenient, but that which conforms to the universal law of things, to the Will of Heaven. This Will of Heaven, which was so vague in older Confucianism, becomes, in the mind of such a Japanese scholar as Nakae Toju, practically monotheistic,

and at this point Japanese Confucianism comes nearest to the Christian conception of human life and man's relationship to God.

It must, however, be observed that only a few rose to such a high plane of thought and that Japanese Confucianism, as a whole, continued to be an ethical system of a rather high order, but one that was inadequately grounded in the higher spiritual realities in which ethics becomes religion. This is strikingly shown by a Confucian publication of 1868 entitled "A New Essay on the Protection of the Country," in which the author accuses Christians of destroying the teachings about the five human relationships by their emphasis upon man's relationship to God. "The five relations are said to be insufficient," writes this Confucianist, "and another relation, that of heaven and man, is set up as the chief of all the others, as being of the highest importance. The object is to destroy the five relations and to substitute that of heaven and man for them all. The Lord of Heaven is the Lord of all countries and the Father of all men; He is therefore the Great Prince and Great Father. All difference between high and low among men is done away with, and this is because the single relation of heaven and man is made to take the place of the five relations. Under these circumstances, little love and honour are shown towards prince and father, and when they are despised it is impossible that there should be any loyalty and filial piety.

It is no wonder that there should be no loyal or filial men among the Protestant fellows. In discussing the question of filial piety, which they rarely do, they say that the child's duty is fulfilled by his supporting his parents as long as they are alive and burying them when they die. The father of one of Jesus' disciples having died, he asked permission to go home to bury him. Jesus would not permit it."

It would be difficult to get a better testimony for the Christian emphasis upon man's relationship to God or for the characteristic Confucian emphasis upon human relationships and its neglect of the Divine. While, as we have said above, Confucianism is a preparation for the Christian message, it is only a preparation, and the full Christian content awaits to be given; especially the message which makes more real to men the living God in whose way man is to walk. Only as men think of their lives in terms of their relationship to God can they adequately understand the human relationships, for man is more than merely a citizen of this world. Nothing can so ennoble the human relations, of which Confucianism makes so much, as the thought that man's life is grounded in God.

There are other essentials that are lacking in Confucianism which grow out of its failure to think of man in his relationship to the Divine. Since in Confucian ethics man usually measures

himself by man and not by such a high standard as Jesus had in mind when He said, " be ye perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect," it is natural that there is no adequate conception of sin and man's need of divine aid. This leads to spiritual pride and to magnifying the place of the strong as over against the weak. The strong, because they are strong, have the right of way in life. It is therefore characteristic of Confucianism that it has very little to say to the great mass of humanity, and that it has always been the gospel for the elect few. Let the masses learn to be content with their lot, for thus it has always been and thus it shall be to the end of time. The difference between the high and the low, the strong and the weak, is fixed in the order of things, and wisdom consists in recognizing this difference and acting accordingly. Of course, the strong should be magnanimous towards the weak, but that is largely a matter of their own choice.

Thus it comes about that in the very realm in which Confucianism has had so much to say, namely, in the relationships between man and man, Christianity not only supplements but actually revolutionizes. It tells the proud and the strong to compare themselves not with the weak, but with the Strong Son of God, and so leads to humility. And to the weak it declares a spiritual birthright which is theirs as children of God. Confucianism in Japan made it possible for the strong, the

Samurai, to cut a peasant's head off simply to test the mettle of his new sword. Christianity makes it possible for the humblest, even the *Eta*, to hold high their heads because they, too, have a right to the best that life holds for all.

IV

THE NATIVE RELIGIONS—A HINDRANCE OR AN ASSET (*Continued*)

Buddhism

WHATEVER may be the problems which Shintō and Confucianism create for the Christian movement in Japan, they are not to be compared in importance with those raised by Buddhism. Buddhism has been the dominant force in the spiritual development of Japan for more than a thousand years, and as the Japanese proverb has it, "What goes before becomes master." That is, just because Buddhism has been such a power in the past is one good reason why it must be reckoned with in the present and the future.

During the long period of its history in Japan, Buddhism was frequently the vehicle of the higher civilization of the continent. First the Buddhist missionaries from Korea and later, at different periods, Buddhist missionaries from China and Japanese students returning from China, were all bearers of a superior culture. Japanese architecture, sculpture, painting, music and literature are what they are largely because of Buddhism.

The Japanese language was virtually made over and developed into a real vehicle of thought by Buddhist scholars. Apart from Buddhism, one can hardly speak of Japanese philosophy, for Shintō thought before the introduction of Buddhism could hardly be dignified with the term philosophy, and even the contribution which Neo-Confucianism made in this field, it made through the efforts of Buddhist priests and scholars who introduced it from China and developed it further in Japan. For all these reasons, then, Buddhism must be looked upon as inextricably bound up with the cultural inheritance of Japan and, therefore, as being inevitably a force in the present-day life, not only in the lives of the ignorant masses who are still avowedly adherents of the faith, but also of those enlightened classes who seem rather indifferent to the claims of the religion of their fathers.

Christianity cannot, therefore, evade the question as to how to adjust its message to a people who in the past have owed so much to another religion. It becomes a vital matter to think through for ourselves this problem as to what there is in Buddhism which Christianity must reject, what it may regard as of permanent value and a real asset, and finally what Christianity has to offer which is essential and which is not found in Buddhism, or at least not adequately present.

However high one's appreciation of Buddhism's contribution to Japanese culture might be, this

should not blind one to the fact that in popular Buddhism, as in Shintō, there is much against which an enlightened Christianity must take an uncompromising stand. Not merely in the unenlightened rural sections of the empire, but also in the cities, and even in up-to-date Tōkyō, there is much rank ignorance and superstition among the masses of the people which is fostered by Buddhism. A visit to the famous Asakusa temple in Tōkyō is always a real shock to those who think that modern Japan is wholly enlightened and that it does not need the Gospel of Jesus Christ seriously. Thousands of visitors come to this temple daily, and on special occasions the number is upward of a hundred thousand. But how different is this going to the temple from what one usually associates with a temple of God! This temple is cluttered up with all sorts of images and filthy shrines. Most conspicuous is the image of Binzuru, a god of healing. The face is worn smooth to a meaningless blank by the tens of thousands who have rubbed their arms over it and then their own face in order to heal some malady. The hands are mere stubs now, and other parts of the image are worn away by the rubbings of the hundreds of thousands who thus have sought healing for their bodies. Let it not be supposed that these images are mere symbols through which God is worshipped. They are idols, and as such are believed to possess magic powers which somehow can heal

the suppliant by contact with him. Instead of healing, this image is an actual spreader of disease.

In one part of the temple a half-dozen priests are kept busy with a sort of fortune-telling scheme. The worshipper pays his penny or two and then a priest shakes a box filled with numbered sticks till one comes out through a small hole in the top. The numbers on the sticks correspond to numbers on drawers in a chest near-by. These drawers are filled with sheets of paper on which are printed prayers or quotations from the Buddhist scriptures. The priest then hands the oracle to the believer and if it happens to be propitious he goes away happy; if not. he leaves with a heavy sigh or comforts himself by offering a prayer to one or more of the numerous images near-by.

One day, after watching this process and observing that at least one of the officiating priests looked quite intelligent, we said to him, "Why do you take part in this sort of thing? Why do you not give these poor people something worth while from the nobler aspects of your religion?" His reply was, "The ignorant masses must have tangible things. Through images and such visible objects is the only way to make things real to them." And when we said to him that this may be a starting point and asked him what they were doing to lead the people beyond such crude things he admitted that they were doing little or nothing. In the meantime this temple is reaping an enormous profit

from its appeal to people's ignorance and superstition. In fact, since the great earthquake and fire the temple is more popular than ever. It escaped the flames, since it is located in a rather large park, but the explanation accepted by the pious is that the goddess of Mercy, whose tiny image is enshrined in this temple, mysteriously protected it from the fire by throwing a curtain of water around it.

But what impresses one at this popular centre of Buddhism in Tōkyō is not simply the superstition that is connected with the worship, but the whole setting which makes Asakusa really a Coney Island rather than a centre of religion. All sorts of cheap shows are located on adjoining grounds or in the temple ground itself, and in more recent years it has become Tōkyō's great "movie" district. The more or less pious go first to the temple, cast a penny or two into the huge money box, mumble a short prayer, and then pass on to the popular shows. But a larger crowd, especially of the younger generation, go direct to the "movies" and do not waste any time at the temple, for they have learned to laugh at the superstitions of their fathers. A few who have outgrown these superstitions have found something better in religion, but the vast majority identify religion with such superstitions and therefore are indifferent to its claims on their lives. They are too busy in the day time with their work and too much occupied in

the evenings with their amusements to have any time for religion and the things for which enlightened religion stands. One cannot blame them, for what they have seen of religion in the form of popular Buddhism is something for the enlightened to outgrow. This constitutes the heavy count against Buddhism, namely, that it has so constantly compromised with the lowest forms of religion down through the centuries that it is now identified with these things in the minds of the people. It therefore becomes often a real obstacle to all progress and truth.

It is not simply at this temple of the masses in Tōkyō that one finds this type of Buddhism. Much of the religious life of the masses throughout the empire, and that means a very large per cent. of the Japanese people, is very much on this order. In fact, there is much of it that is worse which one hesitates to mention for fear of being unfair in one's estimate of a religion not his own. Still, it is equally unfair not to mention a few if one would measure the forces that are at work in modern Japan with which Christianity must deal. The Christians of Osaka, e. g., in their crusade for abolishing a certain prostitute quarter, a few years ago, had a very concrete test of the forces that oppose them when they found that many of the Buddhist priests were lined up against them. Buddhist priests not only failed to support them, but some of them actually con-

ducted dedicatory ceremonies when some of these houses of shame were rebuilt. Every year the citizens of Tōkyō and neighbourhood are treated with a spectacle of popular Buddhism, namely, the Nichiren festival, which is more a riot of drunkenness than anything else. In fact, it is the one night in the year when it is not altogether safe to be on the streets, not because these worshippers are fanatical with religious zeal, but simply because they have taken too freely of the national beverage.

Now, towards this aspect of Japanese Buddhism enlightened Christianity must, of course, take an attitude of uncompromising opposition, however tenderly the Christian worker may deal with the individual Buddhist. Christianity cannot but condemn also the attitude of many of the Buddhist priests who are content with this state of affairs and who even help fasten these evils upon the people. We said *enlightened* Christianity, for the Japanese Buddhist might easily point out that many of the superstitions and evil practices of the Buddhist masses are not so very different from what can be found among similar classes in certain "Christian" lands. Ignorance and superstition are ignorance and superstition wherever they exist, and the Christian brand is not particularly superior to the Buddhist brand. Though it should be added that in speaking of the Buddhist masses in Japan we are speaking of the most enlightened of the

Buddhist lands, and in all fairness to Christianity the comparison should be made with the most enlightened Christian lands, rather than with the most backward.

Then, another aspect of Buddhism which is more of a hindrance than a help are the external trappings of religion. These things are, of course, not an evil in themselves, but as they accumulate they become more the grooves of a lifeless form than instruments of the spirit. Buddhism has been so encased by these outward things that the sheer weight of them tends to kill the inner life. At any rate, Buddhism need not be enriched along that line by fresh importations from the West. A Christianity that places its emphasis on institutionalism and formalism may find a ready acceptance in Japan, but surely it is not fulfilling a very high mission if that is all it brings.

And, now, how is the Christian worker to deal with these lower aspects of Buddhism? Shall he treat them as the fruits of Buddhism or regard them as mere perversions of something better? It may be true that in some sense they can be shown as the fruits of Buddhism, but obviously that sort of an approach would at once antagonize not only the ignorant Buddhist masses, but also the more enlightened leaders. They would naturally resent our blaming Buddhism as a religion for the perversions of its teachings in the lives of the ignorant, just as we Christians would resent such

an attitude towards Christianity, for certainly there have been many things done in the name of Christianity which are unworthy of the religion of the New Testament. It is more fair and more effective in the long run if the Christian worker attacks the ignorance and superstition of the Buddhist masses as unworthy of the teachings of the Buddha himself, and as contrary to the higher ideals and standards of Japanese life commonly accepted by all, irrespective of the sources of these higher ideals.

But to do this effectively implies on the part of the Christian worker a real grasp of what the higher and better teachings of Buddhism are. Since so few have such a grasp it is perhaps natural that Christian workers either treat these evils as fruits of Buddhism or ignore Buddhism altogether and seek to lead the individual direct from his ignorance and superstition to the truth and life as they are in Christ. Undoubtedly it is better to ignore Buddhism altogether than to blame it for these evil fruits if one is ignorant of the better elements in Buddhism. But it is, nevertheless, true that the most effective Christian workers among Buddhists are those who can first of all point them to the better elements in their own faith and from that proceed to the fuller truth as it is in Christ. To be able to do this at once inspires confidence in the Christian's fair-mindedness and insight. He ceases to be a partisan, and so his

Christian message comes with an authority that is really convincing.

But what are these nobler elements in Japanese Buddhism to which the Christian worker can appeal as a starting point for his own Christian message?

First of all, there is, in Japanese Buddhist teachings, a great deal of practical moral wisdom. Something of the moral earnestness and the ethical ideals of the founder has been transmitted down through the centuries. These teachings are known among the masses largely in the form of proverbs and commonplace sayings, and as such they are woven into the very structure of Japanese life and account for the nobler qualities one finds in the Japanese character.

Buddhism, in its higher form, has always stood for the supremacy of the moral law in human life. The doctrine of *Karma,* which is a cardinal element in all Buddhism, is above all else an attempt to interpret human life in terms of moral law, which has universal application. That is, Buddhism interprets human life in a sense in ethical terms, and ethics is not merely a custom which man finds convenient, but rather the application to all life's relationships of an inexorable law which conditions human life and with which man must come to terms. Buddhism's central message is, "What a man sows, that shall he also reap." There is no escape from this, for it is the law of

cause and effect applied in the moral sphere. And in the working out of this central teaching of Buddhism we find many noble sayings which are of permanent value as guides to human life.

Now, this moral seriousness of Buddhism can be made a real asset to a religion like Christianity, which believes in a righteous God and in a Kingdom of God in which righteousness becomes the primary interest.

But while Christianity and Buddhism are in agreement in their moral earnestness and in many of the practical ethical teachings, there is, after all, a tremendous difference at this point, especially between original Buddhism and New Testament Christianity.

Original Buddhism affirms most emphatically the moral law, as does Christianity. It agrees with Christianity that this is grounded in the very nature and constitution of things. But here the agreement stops. In original Buddhism the moral law does not point beyond itself. In Christianity it does. We hold in Christianity that moral law is meaningless apart from moral beings, and that a cosmic moral law implies the existence of a supreme moral being, a holy God. That is, there cannot be such a thing as an Impersonal Moral Law, as Buddhism seems to hold, but only moral beings and a Supreme Moral Being whose relationship to one another constitutes the moral law. The ethical monotheism of the Old Testament, looked

at from the standpoint of religion as man's attempt to find God, is a priceless achievement which original Buddhism never reached. Or, if we think of religion as revelation rather than man's own discovery of truth, we must say that the Buddha may have heard the voice of God but that he never recognized it as such; that is, he did not find God himself.

There is in religion no sharper contrast anywhere than between the inner consciousness of Jesus Christ and that of the founder of Buddhism. To the former the moral law was the will of His Heavenly Father, so that He could say that it was His meat and drink to do His Father's will. The Buddha had little or nothing to say about God, or a Heavenly Father. The Moral Law, written with capital letters, was to him the great reality, and beyond it there was nothing to reveal. Ultimate reality was to him an impersonal psychic force, the Law of *Karma*. To us it seems like a contradiction in terms to speak of an impersonal psychic force, for all the real psychic force that we know, or at least all the psychic force that can be regarded as moral, is personal.

This leads to a second fundamental difference, namely, the difference in the conception of the meaning and permanent value of the human personality. The Buddha did not deny the existence of the human ego, as is often said, but he did seem to deny that it had anything more than a tem-

porary existence and therefore that it was of permanent value and meaning. Since ultimate reality, according to him, is non-personal, human personality, too, cannot be in any sense permanent. In Buddhist psychology an attempt is made to explain the nature of the ego—to show how it is made up of different elements which at death are dissolved, and so no true self passes on, though a sort of psychic force continues which may form another self unless this psychic force is broken or destroyed.

But this conception of the nature of the human personality raises a very serious difficulty in Buddhist ethics. If the human personality has really no permanent significance, what, then, becomes of the ideal of Buddhist ethics which holds out the development of an ethical personality as the highest goal to be achieved? What becomes of the moral earnestness which we said is so characteristic of all true Buddhism?

It is obvious that we have here a real contradiction. Buddhist ethics and Buddhist psychology point in opposite directions. It is the inevitable contradiction in all systems of philosophy and religion which, on the one hand, seek to affirm the reality of a moral law and ethical ideals, and, on the other hand, conceive of ultimate reality in terms of an impersonal law or force. If ultimate reality is not personal, then human personality, too, cannot have permanent significance and value.

And if it has no permanent significance then, inevitably, the ideal which seeks the achievement of an ethical personality as the highest goal of life becomes essentially meaningless and the moral law loses its drive. Moral conduct inevitably sinks to the level of a mere expedient which must not be taken too seriously. That is what has happened in all Pantheistic and Naturalistic systems, and it is what happened in Buddhism over and over again, though the tendency has at times been offset by the development in Buddhism of a real god-idea and a belief in the permanent meaning and value of personality.

The puzzle in original Buddhism was just this contradiction, namely, that on the one hand the founder showed such a rare moral earnestness, but that, on the other hand, he seemed to deny the value of ethical achievement by his doctrine of the *emptiness of the ego*. There are two possible explanations of this apparent contradiction. One is that the Buddha denied only the permanent value of the *empirical* ego, and that he did believe in the existence of the *higher* self which survives and which somehow attains union with the Supreme Self of the universe. The other is that he regarded human life and all that is associated with it as essentially evil and that the problem was not to achieve a positive good, but to end an unmitigated evil. The very origin of the individual is due to ignorance, he held. It is, therefore, not de-

sirable that the individual human personality should be preserved, but rather that it should be destroyed and annihilated. This can be done by killing all desire, even the desire for a better future life. Ethical striving is primarily a process of learning to be indifferent to all things and its goal is vacuity.

It would seem that the latter is the truer explanation of the Buddha's position, for it is certainly true that there is much in the older literature of Buddhism which points in that direction. It must be admitted, however, that there is also something which points to the former explanation, and certainly in later Buddhism this became a prominent note.

But let us come back to the matter of Buddhist ethics. Whatever may have been the Buddha's real position as to the permanent significance of personality, and however earnest he was in the matter of moral endeavour, Buddhist ethics was cast largely in a negative mold. The ideal life was that of the monk and the nun who have learned how to cut loose from life and to sever all human ties and through this become indifferent to life's vicissitudes. It is the ethics of a world-weary civilization, and much of it is utterly unfit for men who must live in a real world. Of course, the Buddhist might very well reply that the reason Buddhist ethical ideals do not fit man to live in this world is because the world is unfit to live in,

and it is man's business to cut himself loose from it. He might reply, as the Buddhist has often done, that all desire for self-expression and self-realization is essentially evil and an illusion, and therefore the objective is not how to achieve an ethical personality which has permanent value, but to end all such blind striving. Of course, any one who chooses to see life in that way has a perfect right to do so, and to act accordingly, and there is little to be said in reply except that some of us feel that we have found more in life than that. To us, life is worth living and the endeavour to achieve an ethical personality which has permanent meaning vindicates itself as we proceed with the endeavour.

Early Buddhism recognized the fact that its ideal of cutting loose from all life was unacceptable to the vast majority of men who wanted life. Therefore, as a concession to this desire, Buddhism almost from the beginning set up a double standard of conduct, one for the monk and the nun and the other for the layman who lives in the world as a normal man. The result of this was, however, that the moral discipline for the latter became more and more lax until in the life of the Buddhist masses very little of the founder's moral earnestness survived. In fact, ethical principles became mere practical expedients, which varied with whatever suited man's convenience. And since original Buddhism compromised in this matter of ethical

standards it compromised in practically every other sphere and the further result was that Buddhism became a conglomerate system which, at least in the lives of the vast majority of its adherents, stood for nothing in particular and left them largely where it found them.

There could be no better proof than that which comes from Buddhist history itself, that the supreme question in religion is the question that centres around the meaning and value of personality. If this is answered haltingly, as it was in Buddhism, then all endeavour is more or less paralyzed, even the endeavour to end all endeavour, which seems to have been the real Buddhist objective, for man instinctively wants life, and he wants it more abundantly. And in seeking life he must, first of all, find it here and now. Therefore, no ideal based on a world-weariness and no goal that is utterly devoid of the contents of life as we experience life, as seems to have been the meaning of the Buddha's Nirvana, can draw man upward.

In the last analysis it is, of course, impossible to prove that man should be drawn upward, or that there is an " upward " or a " downward " in human life. In fact, that is just what the Buddhist philosopher says. The distinctions which we make in our thinking have no real existence, not even the distinction between life and death, existence and non-existence. Human life is essentially a great illusion. The individual is like the wave upon the

ocean. He is called into being in the first place by the "wind of ignorance," which mysteriously stirs the bosom of the Eternal Calm, and when this wind of ignorance has been calmed by the power of enlightenment, then the individual wave sinks back again into the depths without leaving so much as a trace of its individuality. The real nature of the Ocean itself is unknown and unknowable. Let man be content with the thought that he need not forever be driven like a wave to and fro on the ocean of life by the storms of passion and ignorance, but that he can be absorbed back into the depths of eternal quietude, concerning which nothing can be denied or affirmed.

How different is the answer which Christianity makes to man's natural desire for life—for a personal life here and beyond the grave! "I came that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly," is its great answer to man's longing. When Christianity challenges man with the call, "Be ye perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect," it holds out a positive goal, for the achievement of an ethical personality is not a mere escape from an incurably evil existence, but the entrance to a life of fellowship with God.

That the answer which Christianity gives to man's deep desire for life is the only satisfactory answer is shown not only by Christian history, but also by the later developments in Buddhism, which bear eloquent testimony in favour of the Christian

answer. Over and over again, in Buddhist history, an attempt is made to satisfy the longing of the human heart for life—a life of fellowship with God, both now and beyond the grave.

Soon after the death of the Buddha, he who had so little to say about God was regarded by his followers as a god. In spite of his death-bed message that he was going the way of all individual existence, and that only his teachings would survive as the disciples' master, the disciples concluded that he who was such a great moral personality could not suddenly cease to be, and that while the visible ego was dissolved in death and fell apart into its constituent parts the true and higher self of their master must somehow survive. And if the founder was not regarded as God Himself then he was looked upon as one who in human form somehow revealed the Eternal Buddha. With the belief in an eternal Buddha came also the belief in the permanent value of the human personality, *i. e.*, a belief in a real personal immortality. This, in turn, gave real significance to our present human life and to moral conduct as a means of developing an ethical personality.

We are not quite sure that this was the order of development. In fact, we are inclined to think that it was the other way around, namely, that as Buddhism moved northward its converts refused to accept the pessimistic Indian estimate of human life. They enjoyed life and found in it real value

and meaning. And because they loved life they dared to believe that it was something more than a mere existence of a few decades, but that it continued beyond death. This, however, seems possible only if the life of the individual is in the keeping of God, who is master of life and death. Those elements were magnified in original Buddhism which pointed to the existence of the true and higher self, that self which is greater than the mere stream of consciousness which constitutes the empirical ego. The goal of ethical striving is no longer that of the *Arhat* who seeks to escape from an evil world, but rather that of the *Bodhisattva* who seeks to fit himself by moral discipline to become a saviour of others.

But whatever was the order of development in Buddhist thought, it remains a fact that in China, Korea and Japan there have been forms of Buddhism for centuries which make much more room for the conception that personality, both human and divine, is of permanent significance in this universe of ours. There are schools in Mahāyāna Buddhism whose theology comes very near to a Theistic conception, which stress the belief in a personal immortality, and which make a much larger place for normal human activities and interests than original Buddhism made. This is especially true in the great sects which magnify the Buddha Amitabha and his glorious Western Paradise. In Japan it is especially the great Shin sect

which stands for this type of Buddhism, and it is very significant that this sect shows greater vitality than any other Buddhist sect. It is the one which is still building temples in the newer parts of the empire and which is conducting missions among the Japanese emigrants to Korea, China, Malay Peninsula, South America, Hawaii, and the west coast of America. If Buddhism is to have any real future it is the Buddhism of this type, and Christianity must naturally reckon with it.

The question now arises as to whether this type of Buddhism which seems to approach the Christian position in its emphasis on personality as the supreme value, is an asset for our Christian purpose or not.

Let us look at it a little more closely.

First, let us note the attitude towards life in general which this type of Buddhism holds. In this respect it is in sharp contrast with original Buddhism. It looks upon human life as essentially good and therefore its ideal is not the old monk ideal which leads a man to withdraw from the world in some secluded monastery to seek holiness for himself, but it stresses the thought that the religious man should live a normal life as a man among men. The priests marry and rear families. Household and family religion becomes more important than temple religion, though this sect builds the largest temples in Japan. Much of the teachings of this sect centres around the practical

problems which men have to face as citizens of this world. In fact, they are divided into the two great divisions, namely, the one which regards man as a citizen of this world and the other which teaches him to become a citizen of the world to come. At least this is the position of this sect in theory and was the ideal which the great founder Shinran embodied in his life.

This emphasis upon religion as a normal human life is sufficient reason to insure this type of Buddhism a real place in modern Japan, for Japan has rejected most emphatically the old Indian ideal that treats life as evil and that would have the wise man cut himself loose from it. Modern Japan has a passion for life—for physical life and all that would enrich it along such lines. When, a few years ago, Tagore appealed to the scholars of Japan to turn from the civilization of the West as being too materialistic and to come back to the old ideals of India, they replied, "We have had too much of that old ideal. That ideal has kept the East in poverty because it has always led man to withdraw from the world rather than to master it. We want life and the things that make life possible and full." Of all the Buddhist sects the Shin sect can fit in best with this mood of modern Japan, for from the days of its founding, in the thirteenth century, it has regarded religion as a practical way of living a normal life.

This means, of course, that this type of Bud-

dhism cannot feel in very close touch with original Buddhism or draw much inspiration from its older sacred scriptures. The striking fact is that it never has done so. Its chief scriptures are three writings whose origin cannot be earlier than the first century of the Christian era, though they are represented as being the teachings of the Buddha. And in modern times this sect draws much of its life and inspiraiton from other than Buddhist sources and seems to welcome the suggestion that it has more in common with Christianity than with original Buddhism. Some time ago, e. g., we published a translation of a catechism of the Shin sect and in the introduction we had written as follows: "It is true that this sect calls itself Buddhist and traces its spiritual ancestry back through China to India; but its central doctrines, as well as its outward forms, are not only different but apparently flatly contradictory to what we usually think of as the teachings of Gautama." In spite of this statement and other statements which pointed out that the teachings seem less Buddhist than Christian, the Buddhist mission in Honolulu gave the translation in English a rather wide circulation, obviously welcoming the thought that the Shin sect has more in common with Christianity than with pure Buddhism.

This attitude enables this sect to draw from whatever sources it sees fit, and it does actually draw more and more from modern thought and

ideals as these have been brought to Japan from the West. The New Testament also is quite well known to many of the priests of this sect. Some of the sermons they preach would be difficult to distinguish from Christian sermons. They take our Christian hymns and sing them to Western tunes, changing only a few words here and there. They follow our methods of work and organization —Sunday schools, Young Men's Buddhist Associations, monthly religious periodicals, scriptures printed in pocket editions and with fine Morocco bindings, evangelistic campaigns and street preaching—all these are a part of their present-day activities and seem in strong contrast with ordinary Buddhism. It is not mere imitation, for often they seem to get the real Christian spirit and the life, though it is under the name of Buddhism and not Christianity. A striking example of a Buddhist with a real Christian outlook on life is the case of Mr. M. Murakami, who is now the principal of the Oral School for the Deaf in Tōkyō. When he first helped us in the organization of this school he was an earnest Buddhist and a teacher in one of their Sunday Schools. After he had been with us a year he joined the Christian Church and then we learned that for about ten years, while he was a teacher in the Buddhist Sunday schools, he had been reading faithfully the New Testament and was drawing his inspiration from Christ rather than from the Buddha.

But it is not only in modern times that this type of Buddhism has had this close affinity with Christianity, but also in its older literature, especially in the three scriptures which we mentioned above do we find much that makes this present-day affinity quite natural. These scriptures put into the mouth of the founder of Buddhism a very different story from what he really taught. Instead of that silence about a personal God, we have the praises of the great Buddha Amitabha, the Buddha of Eternal Life and Infinite Light. Instead of the Four Noble Truths about suffering and the goal of salvation as a mere escape from this vale of sorrow into a Nirvana of annihilation, we have pictured with endless detail the glories of Amitabha's Western Paradise and the Pure Land. Instead of man's hopeless struggle to free himself from the bondages of existence by his own strength and with merely the moral law proclaimed by the founder as a guide, we have Amitabha himself coming to man's aid. All man needs to do is to accept his gift of grace in simple faith and trust. And instead of salvation being only for the few who are strong and wise, we have the doctrine that it is for all and that even the weakest and the most ignorant and sinful shall find rest in the bosom of the merciful Buddha if they but turn to him in loving trust as a child to its father. Yea, it is the boast of this type of Buddhism that its gospel is primarily for the sinful and for those who know from their own

failures that they need the strength of Another to live the life victorious. One of the two great divisions into which this sect divides all Buddhism is just this division of "salvation through the strength of Another" as over against "salvation through one's own strength." It does not deny that the latter way is possible. "Keep the Law and thou shalt live," but it realizes that few are able to do this.

Not only is man saved by faith and trust in Amitabha's grace, faith itself is spoken of as a gift of the eternal Buddha. "It is the gift of another because it is not a faith which is fixed through the believer's own efforts, but entirely through the influence of the great merciful heart of Amitabha."

Then, further, not only is faith the gift of Another, good works do not make merit but are purely the natural expression of a heart of faith and show the believer's gratitude for the gift of salvation. "Faith is the true cause of salvation . . . the works that follow faith flow from the soul of gratitude. For this reason the works are nothing else than the works of thanksgiving."

From what we have said thus far it must be obvious that we have in the teachings of Amitabha Buddhism much that is not far from the teachings of Christianity. It would be exceedingly interesting to enquire into the possible historical connections with Christianity if space permitted. While we believe that Amitabha Buddhism had its origin

in the natural reaction against the atheistic and agnostic emphasis in original Buddhism, we believe at the same time that at certain periods of its development it was influenced by Christianity and other thought currents from Western Asia. There is enough evidence coming out of Central Asia to show that as Buddhism passed from India to China through Central Asia it came into close contact with various streams of life, including possibly a Christian stream. And it is certain that from the time of the seventh century on for several centuries Buddhism was in touch with the Nestorian Christianity of China. Most significant is the fact that the fifth of the seven great Church Fathers of the Shin sect, namely, Zendō, lived at Sin-an-fu, China, in the first half of the seventh century when the Nestorian mission under Olopun was established there. Zendō greatly influenced the Japanese monk Genshin, whose "Collect-Essays on Birth into Paradise" became a source book for Amitabha Buddhism in Japan. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that this type of Buddhism does owe something to Christian influences, even though, as we said, its origin may be Indian.

But let us proceed now with a discussion of the problem which Amitabha Buddhism creates for Christianity in Japan. What should be our Christian attitude towards it?

We can certainly, to begin with, recognize in it at least vague gropings for the truth and the life

that we believe we have so fully in Christ Jesus. We have here, above all else, an essentially right approach to the main problem of religion, namely, an attempt to answer the question, What meaning and what value has our life—our life as personal beings? And the answer Amitabha Buddhism seems to give is essentially optimistic in that it holds that human life is not an incurable evil and the world is more than an illusion, but the scene where man is to seek and find the fuller life. It recognizes the fact that man is weak and sinful and as such is unable to work out his own salvation; but it holds that he is not confronted with a hopeless task since he is not left alone, but is the object of Another's care and mercy. Stated in this general way, Amitabha Buddhism seems to be in substantial agreement with Christianity and certainly much nearer its central teachings than is the position of original Buddhism. And when to this is added the fact that today the Buddhists of this type are incorporating in their teachings substantially Christian elements, it must be admitted that we have here a religion that may become either a real rival or an ally of Christianity in Japan. Which it is to be remains to be seen. We know from concrete cases that it is sometimes a stepping stone to Christianity and that at other times it has been as a "good which is an enemy of the best."

The story of Mr. Murakami, already mentioned,

is an example where Buddhism was a stepping stone to Christianity. The story of a certain father and son shows how in the same family it might be both a step towards Christianity and a hindrance. The son had been a student in a Christian Middle school for several years. One day he told his father that he wanted to become a Christian. The father opposed the idea, and when the son told him some things about the Christian teachings the father replied, " Son, it is not necessary for you to become a Christian, for we have all these teachings in our own Shin Sect." To this the son answered, " Father, if what you say is really true, and if the teachings of Christianity and those of the Shin Sect of Buddhism are essentially the same, why do you object to my becoming a Christian? " The son became a Christian and the father remained a Buddhist.

This is probably a prophecy of what will take place in the future on an ever increasing scale. Buddhism, especially the Buddhism of the Shin sect, will incorporate more and more Christian elements in its teachings and stress the thought that it has all that Christianity offers, but the rising generation, as it becomes more and more familiar with the real sources of these teachings, and especially as Christianity becomes increasingly naturalized in Japan, will turn direct to Christ and the New Testament rather than receive this life through the medium of Buddhism.

But there is a deeper reason than the one we have just given why the future belongs to Christianity in Japan rather than to a semi-Christianized Buddhism. It is the fact that even the Buddhism of the Shin sect, in spite of the apparent similarity of its teachings to those of Christianity and in spite of the fact that it is incorporating more and more Christian elements, is more or less paralyzed by an ever recurrent note of scepticism and a note of despair which is a sort of undertone in its seemingly optimistic answer to man's normal desire for life. Though Amitabha Buddhism starts out with a quest for the meaning and value of human personality, and though it seems to find an encouraging answer because it apparently finds in the great Buddha Amitabha a personal God through whose grace human personality may find its full fruition in an ethical development here and a permanent worth in a life to come, a closer examination reveals the fact that this is not really affirmed, but that in the last analysis all these teachings are regarded as but word pictures and accommodations to the fancies of the ignorant. For practical purposes the masses are taught that there is a personal Buddha who cares for them and by whose grace they might be saved and some day enter into full fellowship with him. The wise, however, know that man knows really nothing as to life's ultimate meaning and as to love's highest hopes. As man questions the vast reaches of inter-stellar space

and the endless cycles of infinite time as to the meaning and value of human life, only the echo of his questions come back to him from the void. Or, if an answer does come back it is but the echo of what man has himself sent forth by that act of faith which enables some to believe what they want to believe. God is nothing more than the god-idea which man himself creates by his hopes and arduous thoughts, and beyond that he can never really penetrate and know for certain that there is an objective reality that corresponds even roughly to his ideas.

This essentially sceptical answer comes clearly to light as one advances beyond the faith of the *hoi polloi* to the teachings of the philosophers and theologians in what they have to say about the Buddha Amitabha. In the deepest sense, Amitabha, they say, is not an eternal personal being, but only the substance of the universe which somehow is the source of all things, but about which we cannot affirm anything. In a second sense, Amitabha is a personal being, but only as the personification of certain qualities such as mercy and wisdom. In a third, but still lower sense, Amitabha is regarded as a real personal being, but he is then only such a god as man himself can become by his own efforts. Thus, in giving the history of the Buddha Amitabha the story is told how this wonderful Buddha was, to begin with, an ordinary monk. This monk, Dharmakara by name, or Hōzō

Bosatsu, as the Japanese call him, was the disciple of a Buddha, under whose inspiration he determined to sanctify himself and by the power of accumulated merit to work out for all mankind a way of salvation which should be the easy way of faith and trust rather than the hard way of self-discipline. After many incarnations, the story goes, this monk finally attained perfection and became the Buddha Amitabha who has created his glorious Paradise for all those who put their trust in him.

If it be asked, "When did this monk live and when did he become this wonderful Buddha Amitabha?" the reply is that he lived ten *kalpas* ago. Now, a *kalpa* is an immeasurable number of years. If you would measure it, think of a granite mountain over which occasionally some birds fly whose wings at times may touch, as by accident, the hard granite. When, by such accidental touchings of birds' wings, this granite mountain is worn down to the level of the sea, then one *kalpa* has elapsed; and the monk Dharmakara lived *ten kalpas* ago. It must be evident that there is not a shred of historicity about this monk who by his superhuman efforts became a Buddha.

Then, further, if it be asked whether this monk who has attained Buddhahood exists now as a personal being, we are told that for practical purposes the common man may think of him as such, but that in reality he does not exist as such, but

Amitabha is but the personification of the virtues which the monk Dharmakara exhibited while he was striving to become a Buddha.

Buddhism thus knows of no personal God except such as man himself has become by the attainment of Buddhahood; and when this is attained Buddha is but the personification of qualities that are necessary in the attainment of this exalted position. The reason for this is because, according to Buddhism, ultimate reality is not personal, but is only some mysterious substance concerning whose nature nothing can be affirmed or denied. From this mysterious substance, from time to time, personal beings are evolved as if by accident. Among these personal beings some may, by strenuous effort and accumulated merit, attain the position of a Buddha, as did the monk Dharmakara, but the ultimate fate of all personal beings, including this monk and the Buddha Amitabha whom he became, is to be re-absorbed into that mysterious substance from which all things come, to which all things return and concerning which the wisest only know that they know really nothing.

And because Buddhism, even Amitabha Buddhism, is so uncertain as to life's highest meaning and ultimate values, it is paralyzed as a real power in human life. The dynamic for sustained high endeavour grows weak and ideals become flabby. In fact, even this type of Buddhism has not succeeded in giving real worth and dignity to human

life. Here, too, human life as a whole seems pathetically cheap. That is the outstanding impression that one receives in the Orient everywhere —the cheapness of human life. To be sure, our Western industrialism often treats men as mere tools, but, after all, in lands where Christianity has had even a limited influence there is a sacredness about the life of even the lowest which is lacking elsewhere. Wherever the Son of man and His estimate of human life have come, there men begin to know their true worth and high destiny. And if any one would really know the difference between the Christian and the Buddhist source of inspiration for life, let him read for himself and with an open mind the pages of the New Testament and then the best in the Buddhist scriptures. How magnificently vital and real appears the majestic figure of Jesus Christ, the historic Christ who walked among men and dignified all that He touched because He saw in all the possibility of becoming sons of the living God! And how elusive and uncertain, and often how barren seem the pages of the Buddhist scriptures, especially when they deal with the highest human values! It is no wonder that Buddhists are trying to vitalize their message by incorporating more and more from the living content of the religion of Christ. But to do this effectively means to break with their past in fundamental things.

The battle-ground here, as elsewhere, centres

then, around the reality of God, the Heavenly Father, and the significance and value of personality, both human and divine. A Christian apologetic must, of course, avoid all conceptions of God that seem too grossly anthropomorphic, but, at the same time, it must insist that in the conception of a perfect personality we have the most adequate conception of the divine, and especially that acting upon the belief that the achievement of an ethically developed personality is man's highest goal, we are on solid ground, for such a life vindicates itself. Here is where the uniqueness and peerlessness of Jesus Christ appear most clearly. He is not a mere creation of the pious imagination, as is the Buddha Amitabha, but a historic figure with real flesh and blood. His life is confessedly the life of a perfect human personality lived under conditions which real men must face. But, on the other hand, central in His life was the reality of God; and to know Jesus of Nazareth is to know God the Heavenly Father, for somehow He is the supreme revelation of Him. Jesus' beautiful life vindicates itself to the morally serious as ultimately true and real, and to see how His life is grounded in God the Father is to see that at the heart of the universe—above it all, somehow in it all and through it all—is God.

In dealing with Buddhism in Japan, then, nothing but a vital faith in a living Personal God can carry conviction. Japan already has, in a measure, the form of this faith, but the form has

little of the living content which comes through the positive reality of the historic Jesus Christ. Buddhists have hoped that a spiritual interpretation of life might be true, and they have personified their hopes and aspirations in the figures of mythical Buddhas such as Amitabha. In response to this hope Christianity comes with the answer that spirit is ultimately real and that personality has permanent value, for Christianity has Christ, whom to know is life eternal. The truth of this claim vindicates itself to any man who in all sincerity accepts Christ's way of life. To live the life of the spirit as He lived it, to treat human personality as sacred and to regard it as the supreme value in life, is to know that these are the deepest realities and the ones that must survive all life's vicissitudes. This is not a mere theory, but an actual fact, as this is being demonstrated by thousands in Japan who, in Christ, have found certitude and a rational answer to the soul's deepest questions.

V

THE NEWER NATURALISM

FROM what has been said in the preceding chapter, it might be inferred that the chief problem which Christianity, in its thought-life, faces in Japan is connected with the native religions. This, however, is not really the case; at least it is not these religions, as such, that constitute the main problem, but rather the general condition of the thought-life of modern Japan which is only in part determined by the older Oriental religions and philosophies. Probably the major elements come from other sources. Especially is this the case with the educated classes, whose whole outlook on life is more and more determined by the thoughts and ideals of the West.

Japan is a land that believes in education. Her educational system reaches out into every corner of the empire. Colleges and universities are crowded with eager students, and the education which these students receive is not very different from what one finds in the higher institutions of the West. The vast majority of books that the educated classes read today are Western books, namely, Western books in their original languages

—chiefly English, French, and German—translations of Western books, compilations based on Western books, and original productions by Japanese authors who have read extensively among Western books. It is revealing to walk down the main street of the student section in Tōkyō and look into the scores of book stores that line that street on both sides. Only a few of these deal in strictly Oriental books, the rest handle almost exclusively the types of books mentioned above. In some of the larger stores one can find the latest books just off the presses of Europe and America. Japan is strictly up-to-date in this respect. Any one living in Tōkyō and familiar with its thought-life feels that he is breathing the modern atmosphere of our intellectual life in the West just as truly as one living in the intellectual centres of the most progressive lands of the West, for all the world's thoughts find expression here in a most unusual way.

Now, as one stands in the midst of these currents that come pouring in from all lands and at the same time feels the pull of the old Eastern currents that are still strong beneath the surface, the first impression that one receives is that it is a mad whirlpool which sucks into itself everything that comes near it and then flows on in a meaningless confusion. There are so many currents and counter-currents in the thought-life of modern Japan that it seems next to impossible to determine

in just what direction the stream as a whole is really moving. But, after one has watched it for a number of years and surveys it from the vantage point of the history of thought in the East and the West, it becomes clear that the dominant current, and the one that is giving direction to the rest, is essentially the same as a current of thought which is so strong in the life of the West today, namely, that which, for lack of a better name, we shall call the Newer Naturalism.

What is the Newer Naturalism?

In the first place, it is not to be confused with the older naturalism of the eighteenth century. The older naturalism was, in the last analysis, a crass materialism. It interpreted everything in terms of "matter and motion." Even the highest aspects of life—the life of the spirit as this expresses itself in religious and moral motion—was regarded as but an epiphenomenon. The real is the tangible and the things of sense. Everything else—order, purpose, beauty, moral distinctions, etc.—is merely subjective and has no real existence. This older naturalism was, of course, a reaction against the age-long one-sided idealism and supernaturalism which virtually ignored the things of sense and which treated the actual world in which we live either as an illusion or as an evil and the enemy of the life of the spirit. Just because the older idealism and supernaturalism had so long scorned the natural world, the naturalism

of the eighteenth century, as the philosophy of the growing natural sciences, swung to the opposite extreme and interpreted all life in terms of the physical sciences, especially in terms of Mechanism and Chemism.

Now, the Newer Naturalism is very different from this crude naturalism of the eighteenth century. Crass materialism is too simple for any but the simple-minded. The reason it captivates the minds of second-rate thinkers is just because it is so clear-cut in outline and so easy to comprehend. The Newer Naturalism, on the other hand, in its present state of development, is anything but a clear-cut system of thought; in fact, it is more an atmosphere of thought or an attitude than a definite philosophy. It is less concerned with building up a logical and consistent system than with giving due recognition to all the varied aspects of life as we actually experience life. It seeks to make room for everything which man finds as he seeks to understand this marvellous universe in which we live. It realizes that both the older materialistic naturalism and the idealistic supernaturalism were logically consistent only because they ignored or wilfully suppressed much that experience actually gives us. The simple formula, " Matter and Motion," is too simple to explain the things of the spirit. On the other hand, the world is too concretely real to be reduced to a mere thought phenomenon. Any attempt to interpret the higher

aspects of life in terms of the lower does violence to the facts of life as we experience them as spiritual beings, and any attempt which ignores the physical side of life and its indisputable influence on the life of the spirit can only lead to illusion and a fool's paradise.

The Newer Naturalism realizes the utter futility of the older monistic systems, no matter what adjective was attached to them. We live in a Universe and not in the midst of a colourless Absolute in which distinctions are ultimately meaningless. It is a universe of infinite variety and all the older philosophies—Eastern or Western—which solved this problem of variety in unity by simply ignoring the variety or by treating it as a mere "shadow world" and the product of illusion, must be regarded as offering no real solution. Also, the systems of religion which treated the physical as the enemy of the spiritual and which offered man a salvation from the evils of the natural world by an escape into the supernatural, cannot be regarded as adequate for human life as we must actually live it.

The Newer Naturalism holds that we live in a universe which somehow hangs together. The real is a unity, but we apprehend it from different angles and we know it on different planes. Each plane of reality has its own laws and principles. Our knowledge of each plane of reality is real knowledge as far as it goes, but it is a different way

of knowing. Thus we may speak of the mechanical plane, the chemical plane and the biological plane. In the biological plane we may recognize different levels, as it were, ranging all the way from the simplest form of life that can hardly be distinguished from mere mechanism and chemism, since all life involves these two, to the Christian saint who lives not only the life of the body, but also the life of the spirit in fellowship with God. Now, each so-called plane of life is real, but not real in exactly the same way, and therefore not known in the same way. It is, then, absurd to reduce everything to the same level, however true it is that all the levels of existence shade off the one into the other so that it is impossible to draw the lines between them. It is like the colours of the spectrum. Nowhere can one draw a line and say, here one ends and the other begins, but it would be foolish to say that therefore one end of the spectrum is just the same as the other.

The Newer Naturalism recognizes these obvious facts and so insists that one plane of life is just as real as other planes and that the so-called higher planes are just as natural as the so-called lower. If the lower came first in their appearance this does not prove that the higher is nothing but the lower; at best it could only prove that our conception of Mechanism and Chemism would have to be modified to such an extent that they would include the phenomena of living organisms and

our conception of some of these until they would include what we experience in the highest life of the spirit.

In short, then, the Newer Naturalism seeks to understand the wonderful world in which we live by actually looking at it with an open mind; less concerned, as we said, with getting a consistent system of thought than with making sure that all possible data for such a system be given due weight. It therefore looks upon every science as its ally and asks each science to report its findings. Each of the sciences is but a partial view of reality, and only as the results of each are modestly blended with the results of all others can there be developed anything like a comprehensive view of all reality such as it has always been the ambition of philosophers to obtain.

In this tolerant atmosphere of the Newer Naturalism there have developed, in recent years, the newer sciences of the spiritual life—the newer Psychology, the Science of Religion, the Psychology of Religion, etc. The old division of human experience into the realm of Science and the realm of Religion, with the implication that they have little in common, no longer satisfies, for religious experience offers just as real data for a comprehensive scientific view of Reality as any other experience, though this data must be interpreted not with weights and measures, but by spiritual insight. The trouble with these newer sciences is

that they suffer still too much from the influence of the older naturalism. There is still much that is very crude about them. This is peculiarly true of the youngest of these sciences, namely, the Psychology of Religion. With many writers in this field the lowest in religion is always treated as the key to the highest, for they seem obsessed with the delusion of the older materialists that somehow the coarse and the tangible is basic and that everything else is the expression of this. Then, with other writers in this field, religion becomes mere psychology, and the objective in religion is reduced to a mere subjective whim. God becomes but a God-idea, and the self is nothing more than the stream of self-consciousness.

Now, if the Newer Naturalism remains true to its professions it will have to insist that these newer sciences of the spiritual life be open-minded and make room for all facts in the life of the spirit as we experience them. It would be little short of irony if, after modern thought has advanced enough and become open-minded enough to make room for all the aspects of human experience to the extent of creating the newer sciences that deal primarily with the life of the spirit, these newer sciences should themselves be dominated by the old materialistic naturalism of the eighteenth century whose chief characteristic was the tendency to interpret spiritual phenomena in terms of mechanism. Some of these writers, in their zeal to under-

stand the mechanism of thought, seem to become so preoccupied with watching "the wheels go round" that they see little else. When they know how "the wheels go round" they naïvely think that this is all there is to their problem and they calmly tell us that the divine towards which man addresses himself in religion is nothing but the whir of the mental machine. It is to be hoped that the psychologists of religious phenomena will outgrow this stage, for if they should succeed in convincing the rest of us that this is all there is to religion then they will soon be out of a job, since no sensible man will be religious if he knows that the "Voice of God" which the great prophets of religion have heard was but the buzz of their own mental machinery.

But in this we are running ahead of our subject. For the present let us simply state that the whole trend of this current of modern thought which we have called the Newer Naturalism tries to make room for a full recognition of the spiritual life. To be sure, it repudiates in a sense the old supernaturalism, and especially the old antithesis between the natural and the supernatural. It rather includes in the natural those verifiable facts of our experience for which the older supernaturalism stood. Or, to put it in other words, the supernatural becomes a spiritual evaluation of the natural. Religion and the spiritual life are not so much an irruption of the supernatural into the

natural as a recognition of spiritual realities within the natural order.

At the hands of its more reverent and profound expounders, the Newer Naturalism gives, in a way, a vastly greater conception of this wonderful universe and the Divine than was ever given by the older theologians. It insists that all real knowledge of God, if there be one, and of His world must be in our actual experience, but it modestly adds that our actual experience can never exhaust the infinite possibilities that lie beyond. The ratio between what we know and the knowable is, as Herbert Spencer has so well said, the ratio between a small sphere and the enveloping infinite space. The larger the sphere of our knowledge and experience grows, the larger is its contact with the knowable unknown. Hence the more we know through the various sciences and our commonplace contacts with life the more should we realize how unsearchable is the wisdom of the Divine and the mystery of this marvellous universe in which we live.

Such, in a few words, is the spirit of the Newer Naturalism which today is a dominant thought-current in the West and which is a most formative influence in the lives of the educated classes in Japan. Let us remind the reader again that it is not a definite system of philosophy or school of thought as yet, but largely an atmosphere. Many breathe this atmosphere who professedly are adherents of definite systems that breathe a different

spirit. They do not realize the inconsistency because on the one hand the Newer Naturalism is necessarily vague in its outlines and on the other hand they do not vitally adhere to the old.

It would be interesting to take up next the steps by which the Newer Naturalism has come to be what it is in the West. To do this adequately would require a discussion, at least in outline, of the various monistic, dualistic and pluralistic systems of thought, and especially the sharp distinctions which the theologians and philosophers of the West made between the natural and the supernatural world, between the world of our daily experience and the world of our ideal hopes. It would require, in particular, an account of how, in modern times, men have learned that the universe somehow hangs together and that no real progress can be made in solving the problem of Ultimates until we master more thoroughly the things that lie closer at hand, both the things of the physical aspect of our experience and the things of the spiritual life.

We must, however, state in brief outline how Japan was historically prepared for the Newer Naturalism and how it is in fact but a modification of a type of thought which has long been familiar in the Orient, even though it appears now as a thought-current flowing into Japan from the West.

We must start with Indian thought, for Japanese thought has its source, in part at least, in India.

The main emphasis of Indian thinkers has always been upon the transcendental world. This natural world of our everyday experience, Indian thought, after the Vedic period, has largely ignored. Where it did not ignore it, it regarded it as being little more than a "shadow world," lacking in real being. Not simply did it lack real being in the Platonic sense which looked upon the physical world as an imperfect copy of the world of ideas, but it lacked entirely the elements that would give it any real value and meaning. The main problem of the Indian philosopher and saint is to find a way out of this world of illusion. No serious attempt is made to master man's natural environment, but all the energy of the best minds is expended upon finding a way to get rid of what we call the natural order, but what they despised as a "shadowy illusion."

Now, the getting rid of the natural order is accomplished in one of three ways. First, there is the way of asceticism, which treats the natural order as real in a sense, but which regards it as inherently evil, and hence as something to be resisted and eradicated. The life of the body is to be rigourously suppressed and man is to rise above its entanglements and degrading desires. This is the lowest of the three ways, for it gives too much thought to the natural order, even though it treats it as evil and hence as only partly real.

The second way to get rid of the natural order

is the way of right thinking, that is, by philosophic insight to realize fully that this is a "shadow world," and therefore should be treated as such by not taking it too seriously or ignoring it altogether, if possible. Let man live in the world of pure thought, especially the thoughts that center around the One All in which the distinctions of our ordinary life lose their significance. Here we have the attempt to free oneself from the perplexities of our ordinary life, not by mastering nature and its claims, but by ignoring it through an imperious concentration of the mind on Ultimate Reality, which is regarded as *empty* of all such things as make up our empirical world.

The third way by which India sought to find an escape from the natural world was an attempt to transcend even the thought-world by ecstatic vision which carries one direct into Absolute Reality. It is a mystical union with ultimate reality and which is held to be the fullest life possible, but one that is utterly devoid of all those things that make up our natural order. What it really is cannot, of course, be expressed in terms of our ordinary experience, and not even in terms of the most exalted ideas, for it transcends all this, and only those can know who themselves have seen behind the veil. If it is expressed in thought it must be expressed in negations, for the Real world is all that the natural world is not. How foolish, then, it would be for the saint and the sage, whose quest is ulti-

mate reality, to waste any time in mastering the natural order of things! Such an attempt would be only to become entangled in illusions.

India's ethical thought and moral discipline may be treated as a fourth way by which to escape from this world of evil and illusion, but it is more correct to treat this way of moral conduct as an aspect of any one of the above three ways.

In a word, then, Indian thought shows, in one way or another, a sublime indifference to or contempt of the natural physical world that bulks so large in the lives of most men. If it recognizes it as having any reality at all, it treats the physical as inherently evil and as the enemy of the spirit. Of course, the necessities of the physical life made it impossible to ignore the natural order entirely, and in the lives of the masses the problem of obtaining food and shelter and all that goes with ordinary human life naturally had a rather large place, but it is a fact that the best minds of India have, on the whole, concentrated upon the problems of the transcendental world and been indifferent to the problem of mastering the physical forces of nature and all the things with which so much of our modern science is concerned.

Indian thought reached Japan in the form of Buddhism, but only after Buddhism had passed through China and taken on some of the characteristics of the Chinese emphasis.

It certainly would be difficult to find anywhere

a greater contrast in emphasis than that between Indian and Chinese thought. Nothing is more shallow than our customary lumping of all Oriental peoples together and contrasting them with an Occidental "lump." If India is "other-worldly" in its thinking, China is most decidedly "this-worldly." Where India despises the natural world and takes a pessimistic view of human life, China believes in the essential goodness of the natural order and is optimistic about human nature. This is the fundamental emphasis both in Taoism and in Confucianism, though the two systems differ greatly in the way they express it.

Taoism, in a word, says, "Let us know the Way of Things, the Way of Nature as it really is, if we would really know how to live. All evil comes from man's striving against his real nature. Human nature is inherently good if we only would let it have its natural course. Nature is quiet in its operations. It accomplishes its goal not by a noisy, anxious effort, but by quietly following its own laws. Let man do the same. Let him acquiesce in things as they are by nature. Let him obey his natural instincts in a quiet, natural way. If all really did this there would then be no artificial striving and conflicting wranglings, but only the good and the natural would find expression." Here we have, perhaps, the most thorough-going naturalism the world has ever had. It is a belief in the inherent goodness of the natural order in which we

live, and it assumes that this natural order needs nothing beyond itself to explain it or to make it other than it is. There is, here, nothing of that dualism between a natural and a supernatural world which has played such a big part in Western thought, and there is even less of that characteristic Indian emphasis which despises the natural order and seeks to escape from it.

Confucianism is likewise a real naturalism, but of a different kind. In fact, Confucius and Laotze were really in opposite camps when it came to the practical working out of their systems. Confucius, too, believed in the goodness of the natural world and had little thought about a supernatural order that might be better. But he believed, in opposition to Laotze, that if man is to attain the highest good in this natural order his conduct must be regulated in great detail. Hence we have, in his system, such an emphasis upon good form and upon the Five Relations that must govern every man's conduct. The natural man, through his own past experience, has found what is expedient in life; and what past generations have found expedient, that is essentially right and good. Confucius was interested, primarily, in securing the stability of human society by teaching men how the great men of the past have lived and achieved prosperity. To be sure, he speaks of the Will of Heaven, but that was not a very definite or vital concept with him. The Will of Heaven is, after

all, little more than conformity to the best usages of the past, and this was wrought out by men themselves in their attempt to find the Way of Human Nature. That is, the world is essentially good, and human life is inherently noble, but individual human beings need the guidance which the experience of the race in the past can give. And they achieve their highest and best when they live true to that experience. There is little longing for an ideal order which transcends this natural order, and very little expectation that man can find help from a super world. Human nature is really sufficient to itself; not the individual as such, but the race.

Now, when Indian "other-worldly" thought was introduced to a "this-worldly" China, and when Indian supernaturalism came into contact with China's naturalism we get the blending of the two in the development of Chinese Buddhism. This blending was never quite complete, and while in the main the two supplemented each other, it is also true that they at times neutralized each other. China was, in a measure, conscious of her need for a firmer hold on the invisible realities that transcend the natural order, and that is why Chinese went as pilgrims to India from time to time in search of something better. But, on the other hand, the practical mind of China was unwilling to give up its hold on the tangible realities of the natural order, and that is why, repeatedly in the history of Chinese Buddhism, we find the govern-

ment persecuting the " other-worldly " Buddhists and forcing the monks and nuns back into the ranks of ordinary citizens whose chief duty it is to raise a good family and do the humdrum work of the world. Chinese Buddhism, therefore, becomes quite different from the Indian original. To be sure, it retained something of the " other-worldly " emphasis and interest, but this it interpreted largely in terms of this world. Thus we have, among other things, the development in Chinese Buddhism of the Amitabha type of which we spoke in the preceding chapter and which preaches a doctrine of salvation in a glorious Paradise conceived of in very realistic terms. Nirvana, here, is no longer the Great Void or the absorption of the finite in the Infinite, so characteristic of Indian thought, but it is a colourful Paradise and a personal existence in which the individual carries over into the next world all that he has found good and lovely in this essentially good world.

This blending of Indian and Chinese thought was brought into Japan by Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism, and here it had a further development. Buddhism in Japan became, if anything, even more " this-worldly " than it was in China, for at the very beginning it entered into close union with the old Shintō nature worship. Shintō believes in the divine, but the divine is wholly what it finds in the natural order. The gods are nothing more than deified men or the personification of

objects and forces in nature. The Japanese, before they were influenced by Buddhism, looked upon this world as essentially good. The islands of Japan are the abode of the gods, and if there is a more ideal world it must be simply a glorification of the mountains and valleys, the rivers and rocks, the clouds and sunsets that make Japan so beautiful. This is most strikingly shown in Genshin's "Collected Essays on Birth into Paradise." In his descriptions of the beauties of Amitabha's Paradise he draws on the accounts given in the canonical literature of Chinese Buddhism, but he adds to it a great deal of local colouring taken direct from the beauties of nature as found in his own beautiful land.

Japanese Buddhism went a step further in giving the "other-worldly" Buddhism of India a "this-worldly" setting and interpretation in that in some of its branches it secularized religion and blotted out the distinction between the monk and the layman. We saw in the preceding chapter how the Shin sect bids its priests to marry and rear families as ordinary citizens. While this had for its purpose the elevation of ordinary life to the plane of religious living, it nevertheless tended to defeat the ideal of original Buddhism which was the cutting loose from all earthly entanglements and living wholly in the transcendental world. Then, further, Japanese Buddhism as a whole formed a close alliance with the Japanese state and religion often

was little more than an instrument of state. Instead of scorning the world or being sublimely indifferent to it, as is the characteristic attitude of Indian religions and philosophies, Japanese Buddhism feared the scorn of the world and adapted itself to fit in with whatever was expected of it.

But it is not only that in the practical compromises of life, Chinese and Japanese Buddhism sought to blend the claims of the natural order with those of the ideal order. It worked out this blending in a real religious philosophy, namely, the Pantheistic Philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism. We often speak of Indian systems of philosophy as being Pantheistic. Strictly speaking, this is not correct, for Indian thought, as a rule, does not have sufficient respect for the world in which we live to regard it as divine. The natural order is too unreal or too evil for that. India is too " otherworldly " to be Pantheistic. The All, or *Pan,* of Indian thought is taken from the realm of pure thought or from the realm that transcends even thought, and not from the realm of our everyday life. Or, still better, the All of Indian thought is that which is left after we have eliminated the All of sense experience. It is the Void or Pure Spirit. At least, this is the case with Indian religious philosophies, however true it may be that in the religions of the masses there is little thought about the divine apart from its supposed manifestations in visible and tangible things. But in the philos-

ophy of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism we have a real attempt to show that the phenomenal world of our daily experience and the noumenal world or ultimate reality are one and the same. All is divine when seen in its true light, and the Divine is in the All. This is real Pantheism. The real question becomes, then, Just how divine is the All?

And now let us come back to the Newer Naturalism which we said is the dominant current of thought in modern Japan, especially among the educated classes who have been so greatly influenced by Western science and philosophy. It must be evident at once that this has remarkable affinities with the Pantheistic philosophy and the blending in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism of the natural and the supernatural or ideal orders which we have been discussing. Though the Newer Naturalism has its foundations primarily in modern science and Western philosophies, it fits in remarkably well with the Pantheistic philosophy of eastern Asia, and that is why it is so congenial to modern Japan where, in such a unique way, the East and the West are meeting today.

As we saw, the Newer Naturalism recognizes the spiritual aspects of our life as real; so, of course, does Oriental Pantheism. The former insists that there can be no real dividing line between the natural and the supernatural, nor even between the physical and the spiritual, but that the one shades off into the other, or that they are but

two aspects of one and the same reality. The Newer Naturalism says, " this is a world in which nature is supernatural to the core and the supernatural is natural to the limit." These conceptions are quite familiar to the older Pantheism of the East. Neither the Newer Naturalism nor the old Pantheism is content to make " matter and motion " the measure of all reality. The spiritual has its place; in fact, both would say that only as man is spirit can any phenomenon, whether physical or spiritual, appear at all. Both, then, seem to conserve our spiritual values.

But the crux of the whole matter is this: Granted that I am now a self-conscious spirit and, as such, am more than the atoms and electrons which make up my body. How real am I as spirit? Am I more than a temporary psychic phenomenon? And, further: is the spiritual aspect of Nature more than what we know as spirit in man? Is there such a reality as Spirit permanently real? Is there a God—a being whom we think of in terms of the highest we know in ourselves as spiritual beings, though he may vastly transcend this conception?

Now, the truth about the Newer Naturalism is simply that it has not yet seriously faced these questions of Religion. It is still too much a vague atmosphere of thought rather than a well-thought-out system, and so it has not said definitely just what it really does mean by spirit. For the present it is still largely occupied with simply describ-

ing the phenomena of the life of the spirit, and it has not attempted to answer any questions as to the ultimate significance or value of human spirits or the questions as to whether there is a Supreme Spirit with whom the finite spirit of man may commune and in whose eternal purpose he is included. It remains to be seen whether, in Japan, the Newer Naturalism will ally itself with the religious philosophy of Asiatic Pantheism, with which, in its present stage, it has close affinities, as we have already seen, or whether it will come under the influence of Christianity and a Theistic philosophy which is ready to accept the findings of the Newer Naturalism in so far as these findings rest on true science, but which insists that spirit in man is more than a temporary stream of consciousness and that the spiritual aspect of Nature is more than the spiritual in man.

We are confident that ultimately Christianity will dominate the Newer Naturalism and bring to it that fulfillment which it needs before its present vague gropings in the realm of spiritual realities become clear and a firm grasp, but this will not be an easy victory. In fact, this is the great battle that is now on in the thought-world, not only in Japan, but all over the world. It is pathetic that so few Christians realize that the great issues that are at stake today are not the things that figure so prominently in the press and in the religious controversies among Christians, but this supreme

question as to what is meant by spirit—this question as to whether spirit and the spiritual is only the spirit in man or whether it is more than that.

As we have said above, some of our Western writers in the field of the Psychology of Religion speak as if the spiritual realities vanished as man pursues them. God becomes but a God-idea. He vanishes as man thinks about Him, and so nothing of the Divine is left but that vague thing we call "the divine in man or in things." This tendency is well illustrated in the following paragraphs from an article on Prayer: [1]

"Just as to stimulate and develop this sense of communion and aspiration is the work of the churches, so to analyze and explain it is the task of the psychologists, and it is not certain yet what their answer will be. The problem is this: Granted that there is a consciousness of communion which appears to be with some external power, is that appearance correct, or is the communion really with some part of the man's own nature which is ordinarily submerged? Only the professional psychologist is really competent to discuss this question properly, but any one can see that it is not an idle one, and that any answer gives rise to others.

"It is a common experience that, whereas our words and actions are usually the result of conscious rational thoughts, there are moments when

[1] *Prayer,* by Prof. Kirsopp Lake, *Atlantic Monthly,* Aug., 1924, pp. 166-7.

we are—so it seems both to ourselves and to others —in the clutch of a higher power, sometimes inspiring us to good, sometimes to evil deeds and words. God and the Devil are the explanations which theologians have given to this duplex phenomenon.

"The psychology of today has questioned this explanation. It seems to many who have most deeply studied the question, that our conscious life of reason has a deep penumbra of which we are not habitually conscious. It makes itself felt only when emotion or some other cause calls it up into action. It contains all the instincts, ethics and thoughts of the past generations whose history is latent in every individual. If this side be called into action by some momentary collapse of our usual phychical balance, any one of us may relapse for a time into the condition of primitive man, with primary instincts and animistic thoughts. But some, at least, would hold that it contains also the germs of all the achievements and triumphs which will make life better and fuller for our descendants. If by the splendour of art or the inspiration of religion this side of us be roused into life, we become capable of rising for the moment to the height which only our remote descendants will fully master, and we become living prophesies of a new world. For the devil is the ghost of primitive man, and God is the unborn life of the world that is yet to be."

Perhaps one should not take these paragraphs too seriously, for some of the statements are anything but scientific, especially the one which asserts that the deep penumbra which enfolds our conscious life of reason "contains all the instincts, ethics and thoughts of the past generations whose history is latent in every individual." However true it is that the individual is what he is because he is not merely an individual but a member of the human race, no real scientist would claim quite as much for him as Professor Lake does in such a statement. That is too much like the magician who produces marvellous things by the waving of his magic wand, but who really pulls them from his long sleeves, where he had first carefully concealed them.

But while these paragraphs should not be taken too seriously in all respects they do set forth clearly the problem we are discussing. On the one hand, there is a clear recognition of spiritual phenomena, but on the other hand, it is equally clear that the author reduces the spiritual to what goes on in man. The "clutch of a higher power," in which man feels himself to be at times, is nothing but the clutch of his own past as an individual, and as a member of the race. It is not God "in whom we live and move and have our being," for God does not yet exist. He is only "the unborn life of the world that is yet to be." Just *why* that world is yet to be the author does not state, except that

he seems to hold that naïve belief in Progress—Progress written with capital letters so that it might take on something of the divinity that it has replaced. His God is the God man himself creates by personifying the qualities in his own life which he admires or by deifying humanity as such. We are told that man is to be roused to higher things through " the inspiration of religion "; but we wonder what will become of religion and its inspiration if God is only what man himself creates? If communing with God is merely man communing with himself, even though the self is enlarged by the addition of that " penumbra " which contains " all the instincts, ethics, and thoughts of the past generation," then the inspiration of religion which is to rouse man to achieve momentarily the highest is reduced to a mere auto-intoxication, and that sort of thing vanishes into thin mist the moment a sensible man discovers its real nature. When all men become as enlightened as our learned author there will not be any religion left about which to write, and certainly there will be little Prayer to write about if man knows that this is only communing with oneself. People who talk to themselves are, as a rule, little children, or men and women who have entered their " second childhood." Occasionally we find others who indulge in this practice, but they are usually kept behind bars and walls in order to protect society from their foolishness.

Johan Bojer, in "The Great Hunger," gives us an even clearer statement of the belief that the spiritual is confined to what goes on in man and that the Divine is only such as man himself creates.

"And more and more it came home to me that it is man himself that must create the divine in heaven and on earth—that that is his triumph over the dead omnipotence of the universe. Therefore, I went out and sowed corn in my enemy's field, that God might exist.

"In the midst of this thraldom he has created the beautiful on earth; in the midst of his torments he has had so much surplus energy of soul that he has sent it radiating forth into the cold deeps of space and warmed them with God. . . .

"So marvellous are thou, O spirit of man! So God-like is thy very nature! Thou dost reap death, and in return thou sowest the dream of everlasting life. In revenge for thine evil fate, thou dost fill the universe with an all-loving God. . . .

"Honour to thee, O spirit of man. Thou givest a soul to the world, thou settest it a goal, thou art the hymn that lifts it into harmony; therefore turn back into thyself, lift high thy head and meet proudly the evil that comes to thee. Adversity can crush thee, death can blot thee out, yet art thou still unquenchable and eternal. . . .

"She, too, the stricken mother, has risen up from the océan of her suffering that here, in the

daybreak, she might take her share in the creating of God."

How magnificent and poetic these lines are! But, also, how pathetic is such a faith in the spiritual realities of life! In this faith man is more than mere "matter and motion." These writers have drunk too deeply from the stream of the Newer Naturalism to be satisfied with an interpretation of human life that would reduce it to mere Mechanism and Chemism. The spirit of man is essentially creative and, as such, it rises to higher planes of reality than the mere things of sense. Yea, the spirit of man, they hold, is of such magnificent stuff that it can and will "triumph over the dead omnipotence of the universe." In his glorious strength and good will he goes out and sows corn in his enemy's field "that God might exist." Undaunted by adversity, defying death itself, because conscious of his own divinity, the spirit of man goes forward with his supreme task—"the creating of God." Perhaps in moments of exultation such a poetic flight of the imagination might satisfy some courageous souls, but to most of us it will seem too much like lifting oneself by pulling on one's own boot straps.

No, this is no real answer. The spirit of man is wonderful, but it is not sufficient for such things, even if spelled with capitals. Our very progress in our knowledge of human life and the environment in which human life has developed tells us only too

plainly that if the destiny of the human race is left purely to the divinity within man, then we are in a hopeless situation. The time must inevitably come when the place that witnessed the slow evolution of the human race until it reached the height when it "created God" shall know man no more. This little globe of ours that has been the scene of all these marvellous achievements of the spirit of man will one day spin on through space, cold, lifeless and without a trace of this noble creature, man, upon it. If our hope is only such as we can legitimately have in ourselves, whether as individuals or as a race, then we are of all creatures most miserable, for we have enough intelligence to know that this cannot go on indefinitely with a sort of perpetual motion until we ourselves have "created a God" who may, perhaps, when he is powerful enough prepare for our glorious human race a new planet when this one on which we now live freezes us out as it goes spinning out into the cold depths of space. If God is only the divine within us, then we are truly without hope in this world, for we are then without God.

Now, the striking thing about this conception of the spiritual realities which these modern psychologists and novelists hold is that it is very much like the conception held in the old Pantheistic philosophies of the Orient. It recognizes, on the one hand, the spiritual as this exists in man, but, on the other hand, it is slow to see that the spiritual

in man must be grounded in a Spiritual Reality which transcends man, namely, in God, if it is to have any permanent meaning and value. And the Spiritual Reality which transcends the spiritual in man must be conceived of in terms suggested by our experience as personal beings if the conception is not to lapse into a vague shadowy something that makes everything divine because nothing is very much divine, as has so frequently been the case in the Pantheistic systems of the East.

We said at the close of the preceding chapter that in dealing with Japanese Buddhism the battle-ground centers around the reality of God, and the significance and value of personality, both human and divine. That is even more the case in Christianity's problem with the Newer Naturalism which, on the one hand, seems to be so ready to recognize the spiritual aspect of existence and even magnifies the achievements of the human spirit, but which, on the other hand, seems to hesitate to go beyond this. If God is only such as man himself creates, then we are right back to the position occupied by the Buddhists who, for centuries, have said that God is but "the personification of our ideas and hopes," and that there is "no God except such as man can and has become by becoming a Buddha." Or, if the divine is only that vague and shadowy divinity that wells up occasionally from the depths of the subconscious—that convenient repository of the modern psychologist for the ac-

cumulated treasures and rubbish of all past generations—then we are back again to that fatalistic position occupied by many Oriental philosophers, namely, the position which holds that we live in an essentially closed system and man is left purely to the destiny that is resident within him. His hope lies in the fact that he is divine because everything is essentially divine; but may we also add that his despair lies also there, for where all things are divine, Divinity ceases to be a power that lifts or inspires to nobler living. The ugly facts of our own inner life, the facts of our lower passions, of defiling sin and all that degrades, are too persistently real to satisfy one with a divinity that is merely what is within us. Somehow man needs more than that if he would meet real life victoriously. It is not enough to tell him that he is divine and only needs to regard himself as such if he would lift himself from the low levels where he actually is, to the high levels of his hopes and aspirations.

The saints of the East have found that such an answer does not really work out in practical living. Though theoretically there is much in Oriental philosophy that puts all existence on the same level and that reduces the divine to the divinity resident in man, in practice sharp distinctions had to be made after all. In fact, as we saw above, India tried to solve the problem either by regarding the whole realm of the natural order as evil and teach-

ing man to save himself from it by a life of asceticism, or by treating it as essentially non-real and an illusion and telling man to ignore it. That is, the divinity within man asserted itself by imperiously ruling out of existence by sheer force of will and concentration of thought the whole realm of the natural order; yea, ruling out even the conscious stream of the empirical ego. For the few that can do that, perhaps the divinity that is within them is adequate for life's problems; in fact, no problems are left as long as one can remain in a sort of trance in which all distinctions cease, even the distinction of thought and non-thought. But we dare to think that few Westerners and few Japanese or north Asiatics will be able to solve life's problem that way. The Natural order is too tremendously real to dispose of in that high-handed way. The Newer Naturalism, as we see, affirms the reality of the sense world just as truly as it recognizes the fact that spirit transcends the mere objects of sense perception. Modern Japan, too, is thoroughly committed to a position which gives the natural order its due place. It is too plain that India's solution was really no solution at all for even the vast majority of Indians and that it has resulted in leaving the millions where they have always been left by that sort of philosophy, namely, on the low plane of ignorance and sense indulgence which makes any statements about the " divine within man " sound like mockery.

Faced, then, with the natural order as an indisputable reality, can the modern man—American or Japanese—rest satisfied with a conception of the divine that is merely "the divinity within us," or with a God such as man can himself become? Perhaps because this line of thought is rather new to some Westerners it will appeal, for we are easily charmed by that which is novel. Some of us, however, know that this is but a rehash of an old worn-out Oriental conception, and we are not greatly attracted by it, for we have seen its fruits. We know too well that this was essentially the position held by Buddhists in China and Japan, and that these Buddhists have learned from experience that such a conception really lacks power and vitality. That is why these Buddhists have, from time to time, sought to lay hold on the divine that is greater than what is in man himself. At times, they have partly succeeded, but the recurrent note of scepticism has always devitalized this reaching out of faith. Today, many of these Buddhists are again reaching out for something more positive, and some of them are finding it in the religion of the New Testament and in contact with Jesus Christ.

Christianity says, "I believe in God the Father, Maker of heaven and earth." Here we have an affirmation of the reality of the natural order and a reality which transcends that natural order. According to Christ, this world in which we live is real, and He lived a real human life among men.

All that modern science can find out about this natural order every intelligent Christian will welcome, for he realizes that in God's universe truth cannot contradict itself. But Christianity also recognizes the reality of the spiritual and its supreme value and meaning. "What profiteth it a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The dignity of human life and the supreme value of the soul are characteristic emphases in Christian thought. But Christianity cannot stop with that, for to stop here would be really a mockery of all that is highest in human life. The spirit of man is great and of permanent significance because man's life is grounded in the Spirit of God. Man does not "create God," but is a co-worker with God in this dynamic universe in which we live. It is not a meaningless repetition of a closed system in which nothing essentially new appears, or in which only that is achieved which the valiant spirit of man himself creates in "his triumph over the dead omnipotence of the universe." Rather do we hold that a Creative Intelligence is at work all around us in co-operation with which we find our highest and best and in whose divine purpose our life has a place. We would be more modest than the two writers just quoted, for we hardly feel equal to the task of "creating God," but we would also be more open-minded and see the Divine when it is revealed. Nothing seems more divine to us than the beauty of a majestic personality, su-

premely the personality of Jesus Christ. To know Him is to know that one is confronted with ultimate values and the highest meaning for human life. But to know Christ is to know Him whom Christ reveals, for in an absolutely unique and supreme way, he that has seen Jesus Christ has seen the Father. In His presence the spiritual world becomes real and man's deepest questions as to his own destiny and the permanent significance of Personality find an assuring answer.

There are, obviously, other forces with which Christianity must reckon in Japan besides the native religions and philosophies which we have been discussing. These other forces are, however, not at all peculiar to Japan, but they are such as Christianity must meet everywhere. Human nature is essentially the same the world over. In modern Japan, e. g., as in modern America and Europe, Christianity must reckon with that strong passion for the externals of life, the desire to possess the many things which man's mastery over nature is creating in such profusion, but which so often crowd out or smother the life of the spirit. Japan wants these things as we want them, and it seems increasingly difficult to get a hearing for a message which would place man above things and which would seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. This practical problem reduces itself in the last analysis to the main question

which we have been discussing, namely, the question as to the chief values in human life. The problem has merely a different setting in that personality, as the highest value is not so much questioned by a philosophic doubt as that it is lost sight of by reason of the many things that fill the minds of modern busy men. The very attempt to find expression for himself by a mastery over nature often results in the enslavement of the spirit.

But this problem and similar problems which Christianity must face in present-day Japan, as we said, are not peculiar to Japan, and so we pass them by and proceed, in our final chapter, with a discussion of the status of Christianity.

VI

THE STATUS OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

NOW that we have seen something of the major aims which Christianity has set for itself in Japan, and something of the forces with which it must reckon, let us take up briefly the question as to how far Christianity has succeeded in achieving its aims, or, in other words, its actual status today.

Probably the best answer to such a question is to give in bold outline the development of the Christian movement among the Japanese people from its beginnings to the present day. Only as one understands something of this development can one begin to appreciate the position which Christianity occupies today and estimate aright its strength to cope with the problems that lie ahead.

First of all, it should be remembered that when Protestant missionaries began their work, in 1859, Japan was not altogether ignorant of Christianity. Over three hundred years before that date, namely, in 1549, the Roman Catholic missionary, Francis Xavier, had planted the cross in the Sunrise Kingdom. We cannot stop to give, even in outline, the story of that mission, except to say that, after an

initial success of a few decades that seemed most remarkable, Japan turned against this form of Christianity, martyred many of the Christians and proscribed the "Jesus Teaching" as the chief enemy of the nation. For about two hundred and fifty years this attitude had prevailed when the first Protestant missionaries came. It is needless to say that they were not welcomed with open arms. All over the empire the edict boards against Christianity were still much in evidence. For a Japanese subject to become a Christian was a direct violation of the law of the land, and any one even suspected of such a thing was compelled to trample on a crucifix to prove his contempt for that religion. If he were found guilty, he was liable to banishment, imprisonment, or even to capital punishment. Such opprobium attached to the word *Yasokyō*, "Jesus Teaching," that, even to this day, some of the older generation shudder at its mention. Today, Christianity is generally known by the name *Christokyō*, "the Christ Teaching," and this has a very different atmosphere about it. Only in certain rural and unenlightened districts is it still called by the older name.

With such a prejudice against Christianity, it is not strange that our first missionaries found it difficult to make contacts with the people. They laboured five years before they won their first convert, in 1864, and he was not much help, as he died a few weeks after his baptism. The edict boards

against Christianity were not removed until 1873. Even then the law was not repealed, but simply allowed gradually to lapse into disuse.

By 1872, enough converts had been won to organize the first Protestant church, the Kaigan church of Yokohama, whose little church edifice, known derisively as Mr. Ballagh's dog kennel, stood near the great docks where today the ships from the Seven Seas land. The great earthquake of 1923 levelled this little historic structure to the ground, as it did the larger church building beside it, where this oldest Protestant congregation had been worshipping. A temporary building has since been erected, but it is to be hoped that when the congregation builds its more permanent home, something worthy of its history may be made possible.

A few years after the founding of this first church, other groups of believers were organized into churches, in Tōkyō and in the southern port of Nagasaki. This may give the impression that Japan changed her attitude towards Christianity rather early. As a matter of fact, up till 1880 the country at large was anything but friendly, however true it may be that a few officials in the central government began to look with favour upon Christianity by reason of its being the religion of Western nations with whom they wished to make closer connections. Like the Early Church in the first century, this little Japanese Church could

hardly think of itself other than a small company united in Christ for mutual comfort and exhortation in the midst of an evil and hostile world. These Christians could look forward to winning a few others one by one to enter their fellowship, knowing, however, full well that only a few daring souls would be willing to pay the price. To think of Christianizing Japanese society as a whole, or of enlisting the nation as such in a Christian program, was quite out of the question. Under such conditions it took courage to be a Christian in Japan, for it often meant literally giving up father and mother, sisters and brothers. It meant disinheritance and the scorn of one's best friends. Something of that atmosphere still prevails in certain rural sections; but to those of us who live in Tōkyō, or in any other of the larger centres, it is difficult to realize that this could have been the condition everywhere in Japan less than fifty years ago.

A remarkable change in the attitude towards Christianity came in the decade between 1880 and 1890. By that time Japan realized that she had much to learn from the West. Her experience with Western navies demonstrated clearly that at least in this respect she was outclassed by Western countries. She had sent commissions to Europe and America to get first-hand information about Western civilization, and the more progressive classes had been learning from missionaries and

other teachers much about the outside world. After 1880, the nation as a whole seemed to turn with an intense passion towards everything Western. The wealth of the West and the industrialism on which it was based dazzled Japanese eyes. Some were ready to scrap everything old in order to make room for the new. Officials in Tōkyō, e. g., were actually talking about converting the beautiful Ueno Park, with its century-old trees, temples and shrines, into a mulberry field so as to raise more silk and so increase the nation's wealth.

In this popularity of things Western Christianity, too, shared, and the Church grew with leaps and bounds. Statistics as to this growth are revealing. At the end of the first twenty years of missionary efforts the total Protestant church membership was about 2,700. A decade later, namely, in 1889, it had swelled to 31,800. So rapid was the growth that many missionaries actually believed that Japan would be a Christian land by the end of the century, and there was serious thought on the part of some higher officials of making Christianity the state religion.

A little knowledge of history should have corrected this optimistic expectation, for religion is too deep a matter to be put on or off like a garment. The missionaries of that period had, of course, little knowledge about the native religions and the hold these still had on the lives of the vast majority of the population. They were also too

near this remarkable phenomenon to see how superficial it really was. The simple fact is that Japan, ever alert to learn something new, was, for the time, enamoured by the splendours of the externals of Western civilization, but the deep mainsprings of life were not greatly altered. Certain classes of society had become indifferent to their old religions as far as their conscious thoughts about them was concerned, but even these were much more under the sway of the old ideals and customs than they themselves realized.

It was, therefore, not long till a reaction set in. During the closing decade of the century this manifested itself in many ways. First of all, Japan was bitterly disillusioned about Western civilization in her political contacts, namely, in connection with the revision of the one-sided treaties in which Japan had been treated as an inferior Oriental nation. Then her more intimate knowledge of things Western revealed the seamy side of our life, and this made Western civilization seem less attractive. The students who became familiar with our thought-life learned that Christianity was being rejected or ignored by a good many Westerners themselves. Spencerian agnosticism was regarded by many Japanese scholars as the last word in religion and fitted in well with their attitude towards their own native religions. That is, religion as such was something which an educated man should outgrow, and if the West itself was out-

growing Christianity why should Japanese have anything to do with it? A further factor was the natural swing of the pendulum which must come back when it has gone too far in one direction. Japan had, after all, a spiritual culture of her own which was of real worth. That which had nourished the nation for centuries could not be discarded in a decade without destroying its very soul.

This reaction naturally had a very serious effect on the Christian movement. Often it became the question of the Master, " Will ye also go away? " Many, even ministers of the Gospel, grew indifferent and some turned violently against Christianity. Buddhists and Shintōists fought Christianity with the new armour borrowed from Western agnosticism and the extremes of our own critics. The old charge was revived that Christianity is the enemy of the state since it demands supreme loyalty to Christ.

Probably no phase of the Christian work was more seriously affected than the schools. It was primarily the student classes that the Christian workers had reached, those eager young men who wanted to know all about these wonderful Western lands. The schools which missions established were filled and Western teachers also played a big rôle in schools established by the government. But by the end of the century these Western teachers were no longer in much demand in the government schools, and the mission schools were looked upon

as an actual hindrance to education, since they stressed the importance of religious instruction. Japan was in an "Era of Enlightened Rule," and therefore religion, which to the enlightened was but a web of superstitions and fables, must be rigourously excluded from all institutions of learning which had any real connection with the nation's growing educational system. Christian schools were, therefore, given the choice of either eliminating religious instruction or of giving up certain important rights and privileges which seemed necessary if the schools were to survive. Most of them chose the latter alternative. The result was that attendance at these institutions fell off very rapidly and some of them had to close. Those that conformed to the government's requirements prospered outwardly, but for a while lost much of their Christian character.

In the opening years of the twentieth century Christianity began to recover from the shock. The Church had suffered, but she had also been purged of much that had come in on the previous wave of popularity. The prospects for the future were not bright, but neither were they hopeless. By a persistent up-hill fight, Christianity could make up for some of the losses and then pass on to greater things. Among other things, this testing of the church developed a consciousness of her real strength. The reaction against things Western and against Christianity as the religion of the West

unconsciously led Japanese Christians to stand more on their own feet and depend less upon missionaries and Western Christianity. When Buddhist scholars fought Christianity with weapons borrowed from the West, Japanese Christians had to re-think their own Christian thought, and do it for themselves rather than take it second-hand from their missionary fathers. This resulted in a conflict among Japanese Christians themselves, *i. e.,* between those who took radical positions on the one hand and those who, on the other hand, felt that their Christian experience could vindicate itself even in this changed atmosphere. The outcome was that most of the extremely radical elements dropped out entirely, and that the others who had re-thought their experience along Christian lines were stronger than they had been before. This meant that Christianity was really established in Japan and that it could now withstand both the foes from without and those of its own household of faith.

In 1904-'05, Japan fought her first great war with a Western power—the Russo-Japanese war. This had far-reaching effects upon the Christian movement. One outstanding result was that it gave Japanese Christians an opportunity to vindicate their loyalty as citizens of the empire. The main charge against Christianity during the Catholic period had been that Christians were not loyal to their own nation. There was just enough ground

for making this charge sound reasonable in the Catholics' emphasis upon the authority of the Pope, a foreigner. Protestant missionaries, too, insisted that loyalty to God and conscience is the supreme loyalty. But with Japanese religion and patriotism have been one for centuries and the emperor as the Son of Heaven is the representative of the supreme object of worship, and thus there could be no higher loyalty than loyalty to him. It was natural, therefore, that during the period of the reaction against things Western and against Christianity as the religion of the West, Christians should be accused of being disloyal to the state. But during the Russo-Japanese war, Christians showed by their lives and by their readiness to die for their country that they were as loyal as any class of Japanese; yea, many of them, by their self-sacrificing lives along lines not required by the state, showed that their religion strengthened them to do things which others were unwilling to do or to do them with a spirit that was superior to that of others. This was especially the case with a good many Christians who served in the Red Cross at that time. No one today seriously questions the loyalty of Japanese Christians. That battle seems to have been won for good.

There is another important effect which the Russo-Japanese war had on the Christian movement. It developed among the Japanese people as a whole a consciousness of their strength and im-

portance. This was the first war Japan ever fought with a Western power, and she had come out a victor. Naturally, this went to the nation's head like strong wine. For a few years Japan became somewhat "bumptious." She reasoned as follows: If in half a century Japan had made sufficient progress in the arts of Western civilization to defeat a powerful nation like Russia, what would she not be able to do in another fifty years! Europe had required three hundred years to develop her modern material prosperity. Japan had done it in fifty years.

This estimate of herself naturally resulted in a change of attitude towards all Westerners. Japanese felt that they were fully the equals of any of them, even measured by their own standards, and in addition they had qualities which Westerners lacked. Above all else, they had the Spirit of Patriotism—the Spirit of Japan—which they felt is absolutely unique and which accounted for the fact that Japan had never been defeated by a foreign power and that the same imperial family has occupied the throne "coeval with heaven and earth."

After 1905, Japan felt herself, therefore, less and less dependent upon the help of the West. Western teachers and experts in all lines were replaced generally by her own sons.

It would be strange if such an atmosphere had not affected the Christian movement, and particu-

larly the relations of foreign missionaries to the native Church. It did affect these relations most emphatically.

We saw how, during the period of the Reaction in the nineties, Japanese Christian leaders had rethought their Christian experience and learned to lean less on their missionary fathers in the faith. Now they asserted not only their independence, but laid down the conditions upon which they were willing to regard the missionary from the West as a co-worker with themselves. Missionaries were no longer seriously needed, they felt, and the money that was required to support them could be used to better advantage in supporting native pastors, evangelists and teachers. They realized that the church was still too weak for the task that confronted it, and they welcomed some help from the stronger churches of the West, but as far as the relationship of the Japanese church and the missionary was concerned, the former had to be the central figure and the latter had to take a secondary rôle and no longer occupy so much of the center of the stage.

While it is true that there was a great deal of worldly pride mingled with this contention of the Japanese Church, and while the Church greatly over-estimated her own strength to cope with the problems that faced her, Japanese Christians were essentially right in insisting that the native church should be regarded as central to the Christian

movement as a whole, and that missionaries should become fraternal helpers of the church rather than continue to carry on their activities as they saw fit without any formal reference to the wishes of the church. They were essentially right that from now on in most lines the leadership had to be largely in the hands of Japanese.

A few years after the Russo-Japanese war the flush of victory began to die down. The more thoughtful of the nation's leaders were realizing that the victory over Russia had been bought at great cost and that much of the gain was rather illusory. It became generally known that Russia's defeat was due as much to the corruption in the Russian army as to Japanese valour, and that in defeating this giant of the North, Japan had not really been victorious over a first-class Western power. And still further, it was pointed out that peace had come in the nick of time, for Japan had reached the limits of her resources. All this had a sobering effect upon the nation.

The Christian Church experienced a similar sobering. Though, as we have said, she was essentially right in her insistence upon having a bigger voice in the work that missionaries were doing, she was hopelessly wrong when her leaders talked as if the work of foreign missionaries were no longer seriously needed. And those missionaries were woefully blind to the big task that still lay ahead who, from 1905-'08, were saying to the new mis-

sionaries that the day of missionary work in Japan was practically over. In fact, in a few years it became painfully clear that a nation might be Westernized sufficiently to build its own battleships and equip large armies with the latest implements of destruction and at the same time actually degenerate in the things of the spirit, which must ever be the basis of real national strength. The very process by which the externals of Japan's new civilization had been developed seemed to undermine the foundation of what Japan regarded as her real greatness.

The rapid industrial development since the beginning of the century, which seemed to enrich Japan, somehow impoverished the spiritual life of her people; at least the old attitude towards her age-old institutions in which the nation took so much pride was undergoing alarming changes. So much was this the case by 1912 that the central government became greatly alarmed over the moral condition of the rising generation, and therefore called what is known as the "Three Religions' Conference." Representative Buddhists, Shintōists and Christians were brought together to confer with ministers of state as to what could be done to stem the tide and to build up again the old loyalties to the things which from time immemorial had been regarded sacred and fundamental to the Japanese state.

The real truth is that Japan was only beginning

to reap what she had been sowing. She had, for several decades, been building up an educational system which was reaching out in ever-widening circles until it included almost every village and hamlet in even the most remote corners of the empire. She had developed above the Primary schools, Middle schools, colleges and great universities in which the youth of the nation learned to think for themselves. But from all these schools and colleges the government had excluded religious instruction as something that is inimical to true enlightenment. It is true, the curricula of these schools included moral instruction as a regular part of the work, but this was grounded on a pathetically inadequate basis and couched in concepts taken over from a primitive age, so that it did not fit in with the ideas and ideals which the other parts of the curricula represented. The result was inevitable—an undermining of old foundations and no adequate ideals in the place of those that were outgrown. It is no wonder that the more thoughtful statesmen were alarmed and that they now called upon religious leaders to come to their aid.

The significance of this conference for Christianity was this: It was the first time that Christianity had been treated by the central government as one of the religions of the Japanese empire, and upon absolutely equal terms with Buddhism and Shintō. It is true that the constitution promul-

gated in 1889 granted religious liberty, but still Christianity was under serious handicaps in spite of that, and after the Reactionary period, in the nineties, these handicaps were exceedingly heavy. But it may be said that after 1912, at least as far as the central government is concerned, Christianity was treated as one of the indigenous religions of Japan, and since that time has been looked upon as a really vital factor in building up the nation's life. In fact, some of the things said in connection with that conference and by the press showed that many high in authority looked more to Christians for help than to Buddhists and Shintōists, for the Christian leaders were abreast of the times while the others so largely represented the most backward sections of the population.

This confidence in Christianity on the part of the government authorities was inspired by what Christians were doing in concrete service. Though Buddhists and Shintōists are far stronger numerically, the actual work done by Christians for the improvement of social conditions far outstrips the efforts of the former. The little that the others are doing is often done in imitation of Christianity.

This recognition of Christianity as a vital force by the central government did not mean, however, that the nation as a whole regarded Christianity in that way in 1912. In rural sections in particular, and in backward centres where the older religions have still a very strong hold, Christian workers

continued to meet more or less opposition. But it is correct to say that since that date the intelligent sections of Japanese society have in an increasing way looked to Christianity as a power for good and as a most vital factor in the nation's life.

We must next discuss the effects which the World War had upon the Christian movement in Japan. That the effect was great, particularly upon the work of missions, goes without saying.

The first reaction was, of course, unfavourable. Japan said what we in the West said, " Christianity had failed." The Christian world at war on a scale and with a bitterness far beyond anything the world had ever seen, and this after nineteen centuries of Christian influence! The Buddhists in particular, who were rather jealous of Christianity's growing influence, flung this into our teeth. Some maintained that the war was not simply a sign of the failure of Christianity, but the logical outcome of Christian teachings, especially its emphasis upon individualism, which is the ultimate cause of all strife. How glorious in comparison, they said, is the Buddhist ideal! Its emphasis upon the vanity of all externals of life and the striving for these things, its ideal of mercy, which includes not simply all men, but even the animal world, its strong condemnation of all killing—these are the things upon which a true civilization must rest and which alone insure eternal peace. But Christianity stands for self-realization, self-assertion, and with

nations this means aggression and finally war. And to the Western missionary in particular the Buddhists said, " Why do you not go back to your own people and preach to them your gospel of the Prince of Peace? We do not need you here half as much as you are needed in Europe. Your boasted Christian civilization is breaking down of its own weight of things that are material and external. Your civilization is hollow and rotten to the core. Japan has already followed your teaching too far, and to her own spiritual undoing. You have broken down our spiritual mood with the power of your materialistic ideals. Go and save yourself and then come and teach others."

These were indeed hard days for the missionary in Japan. It was a second great lesson in humility. The first was when, a decade before, Japanese Christians were telling missionaries that they were no longer welcome or needed if they could not work with them on a basis of perfect equality as brethren and give up their patronizing air as representatives of a wealthy strong church of the West, which through them was doing its " uplifting work in the poor East." But now it was the Buddhist brethren—those who represent a religion which every missionary assumes to be inferior to Christianity—who were telling us most poignantly that our boasted superior Christian civilization is a sham and our religion is either a failure or even worse, the very cause of this breakdown.

The wholesome effect that this had on most missionaries was that they quit talking so much about Western civilization, and even about Christianity, but had much more to say about the religion of the New Testament and the spirit of Jesus Christ, which seemed to stand out in such sharp contrast with the spirit that was dominating the so-called Christian nations. The situation was less embarrassing to Japanese Christians, for they could very easily point out that the essential Christianity of the New Testament was independent of any Western interpretation or application, and that the war was not due to the failure of Christianity, but rather to the failure of Western nations to take Jesus and His ideals seriously enough.

Then, further, in answer to the Buddhists, it was pointed out that Japan, too, though a Buddhist nation, was involved in the war, and that Buddhism seemed powerless to alter the situation. The second phase of the war's effect was, then, a reversion to the old feeling about religion which characterized Japan during the Meiji era, namely, that it deals with the realm of impractical ideals and the future life, but that in this work-a-day world of gross realities it plays a very small part and should not be taken too seriously by busy men. If religion is to have any place at all it must be made subservient to the state, possibly as an instrument to inculcate a spirit of patriotism. This is, of course, the very heart of the old Shintō. One of

the natural results of this situation was a sort of revival of Shintō and a restatement of it in such a way as to make it look like a universal religion and no longer merely a religion of Japan. A rather well known professor in the Tōkyō Imperial University actually tried to formulate a Neo-Shintō which, like the old Shinto, made loyalty to emperor central, but which interpreted the significance of the Japanese emperor no longer as merely the divine head of the Japanese people, but as the divine ruler of humanity as a whole. He gave it a sort of Theistic setting with one God as the Father of all, but with the Japanese emperor as the vicegerent of this God. Not very many took this interpretation seriously and the movement has already died down.

Another strange effect the war had was just on this matter of Japanese Patriotism. As we saw before, Japanese have long been accustomed to feel that their type of patriotism is absolutely unique and superior. They boast that they have had the same ruling family from time immemorial. The very Spirit of Japan is a spirit of loyalty to the imperial family. The Japanese warrior holds his life as something to be sacrificed for emperor and country. The cherry blossom is his favourite symbol, for it does not cling tenaciously to the branches. Neither does he cling to life if giving it up is necessary. Thus it has always been and thus it was demonstrated on a huge scale in the Russo-

Japanese war when, before Port Arthur, many flung away their lives in reckless profusion for the safety of the empire and the glory of the throne. But, as the World War developed, Japanese soldiers and admirers of the old *Samurai* ideal beheld with amazement a spirit of patriotism and a willingness to die for one's country among Europeans fully the equal of anything Japanese. This took place on such a tremendous scale and was so universally true among all the peoples engaged in this conflict that Japanese patriotism no longer seemed like a thing apart from the rest of the world. And if Japanese patriotism were grounded in Japanese religion, as had always been held, then perhaps Western patriotism, too, were grounded in religion, namely, in Christianity. Therefore, Christianity. they reasoned, could not be such a devitalizing religion after all. Thus Christianity, the religion of the Prince of Peace, actually commended itself to these men of the sword because its professors in the " Christian " West proved themselves such efficient and ferocious fighters.

This is really not any more absurd than what we in the West were saying and doing at that time in the name of religion. We were singing hymns of hate and were doing it in the name of religion. We had reduced the Father of all to a tribal deity and were identifying His will with whatever seemed right in our own eyes.

A more important and lasting effect of the war

on the Christian movement in Japan was due to the great work of the American Red Cross and similar organizations. When Japanese saw what America was doing for a suffering world—not simply for the allies, but for the people of the enemy countries as well—they were greatly impressed. After all, Christianity must be a vital religion with many Westerners and more than a mere impractical ideal. The very boast of Buddhists that their religion is a religion of peace and good will seemed rather hollow now, for Buddhism was doing little or nothing to help in this great crisis of the human race. To be sure, a few were showing a little sympathy, but the vast majority of Buddhists and Shintōists were far more concerned with enriching themselves by capturing the markets of the world while the West was bleeding to death than in using their new gained wealth in relieving human suffering. The truth is that whatever practical idealism was still abroad in the world had its source largely in Christianity, and mostly in American Christianity, rather than in any of the religions of the Far East.

This had a most favourable effect on the Christian movement in Japan, and especially upon the work of missionaries. Once more they were regarded as representatives of a religion that has real power in human life and that actually inspires men to do the things that should be done.

Then, further, when American Christianity, in

the person of President Wilson, spoke so positively about the new ideals that were to dominate the relationships of nations—the Fourteen Points and all such statements about the rights of all peoples to determine their own destinies, the terms of peace that should consider not simply the interests of the victors, but also the welfare of the peoples in the vanquished lands, the new world order and the new internationalism of a world brotherhood; in short, all that high idealism about which American Christians talked so much at the close of the World War—all this made a profound impression on Japan and it made Christianity seem like the only religion that was able to bring about a better world. Japanese Christians and missionaries preached as never before the central truths of their faith—the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. This message met a wide response and many writers, even non-Christian writers in the secular press, proclaimed this gospel of the Prince of Peace to ever-widening circles.

Then came the great earthquake of September 1, 1923. This, too, has had a tremendous effect on Japan and on the Christian movement. The magnitude of this greatest single tragedy in human history is too well known to be given here. With 150,000 lives snuffed out in a few hours, 2,000,000 rendered homeless, and $1,000,000,000 in property destroyed, it is not strange that life in Japan was given a new direction. Above all else, this great

calamity sobered the nation and put a stop to that reckless and extravagant manner of living which the war-time prosperity had produced. For a while at least men thought about serious things and about man's duty towards his fellow man. Such an atmosphere gave a unique opportunity to Christianity. Its strength and vitality was never more in evidence than during the months that followed this disaster. Christians suffered with the rest and the losses were tremendous, but they forgot their own sorrows in ministering to those who were in distress; and in an amazingly short time the churches, hospitals and schools were going on with their regular activities; only with an added zest which came from a consciousness that they had a real message of hope for a stricken people. In less than a year practically all of the seventy churches that were destroyed had been rebuilt. To be sure, they were only temporary structures, but they served their purpose. The significant thing is that in many cases the Christians rebuilt their church before they rebuilt their homes. The schools also quickly housed themselves in temporary quarters and the work went on with unabated interest. In a word, the Church in Japan had literally passed through the fire and it came out as refined gold.

In this connection we must mention the profound impression that was made upon the hearts of the Japanese people by the spontaneous and gener-

ous help that was extended from other lands, particularly by America. While the earth was still trembling the American squadron stationed in eastern waters appeared upon the scene with stores of goods. A little later the army in the Philippines rushed up vast quantities of food and clothing, and after that came the millions in money and goods from the American people. Japan was deeply touched by this expression of friendship of one nation for another. This was real, practical religion and Christianity never seemed more like the power of God in human lives. It goes without saying that in this atmosphere the work of missions seemed normal and prospered, for a Christianity that expresses itself in real deeds is the kind of Christianity that appeals to the hearts of men.

There is one more test that Christianity has met which we must consider in this brief outline of its development in Japan if we would understand aright its present status. We have reference to the effect which the Japanese Exclusion Act, passed by the American Congress in 1924, has had.

It is well known that Japan, as a nation, was tremendously stirred up over this action. First there was bewilderment in the minds of the people, for they could not understand how a nation which has always been friendly and which just a few months before had poured out its gifts so lavishly, could suddenly do such a discourteous thing. It was not

so much the action itself as the manner in which it was carried out, especially the way in which the existing Gentleman's Agreement was ignored. The feeling of bewilderment then gradually gave way to one of deep hurt, in particular among those who are nearest America in their sympathies and general outlook on life. It was the kind of hurt which only a friend can inflict on a friend. Upon further reflection the hurt gave way to a terrible disappointment, because this Exclusion Act seemed to shatter, with one blow, a great ideal. For more than a generation Japan had zealously been adopting Western civilization and working for the day when she would be admitted into the circle of great nations on equal terms with Western peoples. During the war she was regarded as one of the "Big Five," and at the Peace Conference she sat with the allies as an equal. Naturally, Japan expected to be treated henceforth as other first-class powers were treated and without any discrimination against her in any form.

The Exclusion Act came, therefore, as a shock and a great disappointment. By this action America seemed to proclaim to the world that she does not want Japanese immigrants because they are unfit to become American citizens, and they are unfit because they are Asiatics. However reasonable the action may appear from the American viewpoint, and however wise it may be not to admit large numbers of Asiatics, to pass an action which

says in substance that henceforth no Japanese or Eastern Asiatic is to be admitted as an immigrant, no matter how white is his soul or how great are his attainments, is certainly to imply that America regards these peoples as inherently inferior. And it is only natural that Japan's feeling of disappointment developed into one of resentment against what, to them and to many others, looks like a "humiliating discrimination."

It is not strange that this situation has affected and is destined to affect still further the Christian movement in Japan, for it has brought into the open a much larger question, namely, that great question as to the relationship between the Brown and the White races.

It has already greatly changed Japan's attitude towards and estimate of America. Though there is still a feeling of gratitude for America's friendship in the past, and particularly for the generosity at the time of the great earthquake, America is no longer regarded as the natural leader in world brotherhood. In Japanese eyes, she is no longer worthy as a nation to hold that exalted position, however true it may be that many individual Americans believe in that ideal. This changed attitude in turn affects everything Americans are seeking to accomplish in the Orient, and particularly the work of American missionaries. As individual Christian workers they may still be received cordially by those who know them personally, but

there is naturally a prejudice against them as Americans—as representatives of that proud White race which carries on its " work of Christian charity in poor Asia," but which in other connections declines to treat Asiatics as equals. There need be little doubt that this Exclusion Act and the subsequent discussion about " consolidating the White interests around the Pacific," will make the work of Christian missionaries from the West far more difficult in Japan and throughout the Orient, and in some cases it will make such work next to impossible. In this respect, at least, Christianity has been dealt a serious blow.

There are other serious consequences that we might mention which indirectly affect the Christian movement in Japan—such, e. g., as the strengthening of the military elements and the weakening of the forces working for democracy and international friendship. Instead of dwelling on this side of the picture, let us turn to the brighter aspects. While Christianity has been dealt a serious blow by this action of the American government, it is equally true that nothing has shown more clearly what a high place the religion of Jesus Christ occupies in the minds of the Japanese people today than just the discussions connected with the Exclusion Act. In spite of the bitter feeling it engendered against America and the disillusionment it has brought regarding America's spiritual leadership, there is no criticism of Christianity as

such. Nothing is said about "the failure of Christianity," as was the case in the opening years of the World War. In fact, Japan condemns the action of the United States Congress *in the name of Christianity*. Christ and His ideals are the standards by which Japan has learned to judge the conduct of nations. And Japan, today, feels that the hope of a more just solution of the problems between herself and America, between the Brown and the White races, lies largely with Christianity. Not only Japanese Christians, but many others in Japan still hope that a more just solution can be found because they believe that ultimately "the America of Lincoln," as they phrase it, and "Christian America" will triumph. In other words, Japan has learned to expect of a people actuated by Christian principles and ideals what she expects of no one else. This speaks volumes as to the high regard in which true Christianity is held in Japan today.

There are other ways by which to estimate the place Christianity occupies in the life of Japan today than by this brief historical survey of its development. Let us briefly indicate a few of these.

First, there is the question of numbers. This is not always a sure test, for in the things of the spirit quality rather than quantity counts, but still it is important to know how large the Christian brother-

hood in Japan is today. The number of Protestant communicants is now approximately 150,000. The Protestant Christian constituency is probably twice that size. Greek and Roman Catholics would swell that number by another 150,000. To this Christian nucleus must be added a circle of those who, though not members of a church, are nevertheless real Christians. Then, around these is another circle of those who may not as yet be real Christians, but who are very near the Kingdom and who draw their inspiration for life largely from Christ and Christian sources. How large the number is that makes up this circle no one can tell. It is certainly several scores of thousands and some place it as high as a million.

It is, however, not so much these numbers that count in estimating the strength of Japanese Christianity as it is the quality of the individual Christians. We have no hesitation in affirming that Japanese Christians, measured by an all-round Christian standard, compare most favourably with the Christians of any land. As compared with Christians in the West there is among them a smaller per cent of those with whom their religion is little more than a mere social inheritance. It still costs something to be a Christian in Japan, and this insures purer motives than one finds among the average Christians in Christian lands. Then, as compared with Christians of other mission fields, Japanese Christians need not be

ashamed. We would not claim for them any greater devotion to the Kingdom or finer spirit of self-sacrifice than one finds among Christians in Africa, China, India or Korea, but certainly nowhere on the mission field is there such a high degree of intelligence. Japanese Christianity is an educated Christianity. The contrast with the Christianity of some other fields was recently brought graphically to our attention when we received a document signed by about one thousand Christians, over three-fourths of which signatures were really not signatures but only thumb prints. Probably in all Japan there is not a communicant who could not sign his own name, and practically none that could be classed as illiterate.

It may not be altogether as it should be that the Church in Japan has drawn its membership so largely from the more intelligent section of the population, but it is a fact. As we saw above, there is a good reason for this in the fact that it was the student class that were most accessible to the early missionaries. Then, in more recent years, with education so general as it now is in Japan, it would be rather difficult to have many illiterate Christians. The Japanese Church has not only an intelligent membership, but among its leaders it has many men exceptionally well trained and well versed in Christian truth, both in its ancient historical expressions and in its newer formulations. No important Christian book appears in Europe

and America which does not soon find its way to the library of some Japanese minister. One never ceases to marvel at the way these ministers, with their small salaries, manage to purchase the best books. The average missionary and the average pastor in the West is not as well read as these men are.

Possibly it is true that Japanese Christianity places too great an emphasis on the intellectual aspect of religion and thinks of religion too much in terms of a teaching or a truth—the very word for religion is "a teaching"—and not enough in terms of a life, but this emphasis on an enlightened Christianity has secured for the church in Japan a remarkable degree of homogeneity among its members. There is very little of that chasm which today separates the fundamentalist from the modernist in America, and the Dayton Trial and similar other controversies about the supposedly conflicting claims of science and religion seem as unnecessary to the Christians of Japan as they do to the Christians of England and Scotland. The Church in Japan is essentially orthodox and sanely true to the great essentials of Christianity as these have vindicated themselves in Christian experience down through the centuries, but it, at the same time, has maintained its Christian birthright of freedom which guards it from following blindly any historic form of Western Christianity. It still insists that the chief source-book of Chris-

tianity is the New Testament and that each individual Christian has a right to go to it direct for the essence of Christianity and that he need not approach it through some creed or confession formulated in the Middle Ages or the sixteenth century.

For example, the Presbyterian-Reformed church, known as the " Church of Christ in Japan," holds in high regard the Westminster Confession of Faith and similar confessions and creeds of the mother churches of Europe and America as splendid expressions of faith for the age in which they were written, but it does not accept them as absolutely final formulations of " the faith which was once delivered to the saints," and maintains its right to believe that the spirit of truth who guides men into all the truth also guides the Church in Japan in formulating its own creeds and confessions in ways that will make real and vital to the people of Japan the things of God's Kingdom. And what is true of creeds and confessions is also true of forms of church government and methods of work.

This high degree of intelligence in the Japanese Church and this insistence on its right to do its own thinking and re-thinking of Christian experience means further that Japanese Christianity is far less dependent upon foreign help for leadership than the church in other mission fields. In fact, as has already been intimated, the Church in Japan is thoroughly able to take care of itself, and the work

of most missionaries from the West is now no longer a leadership among leaders, but a fraternal co-operation along lines which Japanese Christian leaders may themselves indicate.

Since Japanese Christians come so largely from the more intelligent classes it is only natural that their influence should be far out of proportion to their numbers. There are many Christians occupying positions of power. Though the total number of Christians seems very small when compared with the total population of 57,000,000, the influence that this comparatively small per cent. exerts is tremendous. It is truly a case where " the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole lump was leavened."

In the early days the Christian leaven made itself felt primarily in the schools. Not only in Christian schools, but also in those established by the government Christian teachers inculcated Christian ideals in the minds of many who today are occupying positions of influence. While it is true that today, with the rapid expansion of the government system of education, Christian schools seem overshadowed, it is still true that Christian teachers in both private and Government schools play a prominent part. In some fields of education Christian schools are still in the lead. This is particularly true with higher education for women. The various girls' High Schools, the Woman's

Christian College of Japan, Kobe College, and similar institutions are making a tremendous contribution to the life of modern Japan, and they are reshaping the life of the nation's womanhood along Christian lines.

In more recent years Christians have extended their activities along various lines of social service through which they are giving concrete expression of the Gospel message. Many of the great reform movements have been initiated by Christians and depend for their leadership upon them. The great temperance movement, the movement for social purity, the labor movement, the movement for improving the lot of the peasants, prison reforms, social settlements in the slums—all these are led by Christians.

But perhaps the best evidence of the influence of organized Christianity in Japan is seen in the affect it is having on the old native religions, as we have already pointed out in part in a previous chapter. The great popularity of Christian Sunday Schools has inspired Buddhists to organize Buddhist Sunday Schools. The varied activities of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. have called forth similar movements among the more energetic Buddhists. The wide use of the Christian hymnals has made Western music popular among all classes, and Buddhists, too, have learned to sing a new song. Often they sing our Christian hymns with only a word here and there changed. Christian

magazines find now their counterpart in attractive Buddhist publications. But most significant of all is the fact that Buddhists are now circulating their own sacred scriptures in attractive volumes that look like the Christian Bible. For the first time since Buddhism's entrance into Japan, over thirteen hundred years ago, are the scriptures of that religion widely disseminated in the vernacular. And what is an even greater testimony to the influence of Christianity is the fact that a good many Buddhists are actually reading the New Testament, and sometimes they print passages from it in their own publications, for they find in it a freshness of life which somehow is lacking in their own sacred books.

From what we have been saying thus far it should be plain that Christianity is thoroughly grounded in Japan and that the Church of Jesus Christ is now sufficiently well established to propagate itself and to take over more and more the full responsibility of evangelizing the nation. The question that remains to be answered is, What is the place of missions in Japan today? To what extent is missionary work still needed, and what form should this work take in the future?

It is, perhaps, not strange that there should be a difference of opinion on this question, and that even the same person should give different answers in different connections. As we pointed out in chapter two, the answer one gives to this question

depends in a large measure upon one's conception of the real function of missions.

Those who hold that the work of missions is accomplished when a vigourous church has been established will naturally feel that missionary work in Japan is drawing to a close, especially the work of missions co-operating with the larger denominations such as the Presbyterian-Reformed, Congregational, Methodist, Episcopal and Baptist. All these Japanese churches are now well grounded, and can be counted on to perpetuate themselves and gradually grow in strength. Most of the smaller denominations would probably find it exceedingly difficult to maintain themselves if they were cut off from foreign help.

On the other hand, those who hold that the function of missions is not only to establish a vigourous church but to carry on the evangelizing work till all the people of Japan have had a fair opportunity to hear the Gospel will insist that the day of missions has only begun. They can point to vast sections of the population of 57,000,000 which have hardly been touched. Not only is a large per cent. of the rural population—and that means between seventy and eighty per cent. of the total—untouched, but even in the larger cities, where the church is fairly well established, there are great multitudes who, in no real sense, have had an opportunity to know anything about the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Take the capital city itself, where

Christianity is strongest, as an example. It is true that the up-town portions of this great city of three millions has a goodly number of churches and Christian schools. It is also true that most of these churches are today quite independent of missionary help. The moment, however, one passes over into the vast stretches of the low-lying east and northeast side of Tōkyō one feels that Christianity has made, as yet, little impression and that the churches in the better portions of the city, in trying to reach down to these submerged sections, are faced with a task that is wholly beyond their strength unless they are assisted by the mother Church of the West.

It seems, therefore, rather clear that while the work of foreign missions in Japan need not be carried on until all the 57,000,000 have been evangelized, it will be necessary to continue our missionary help until the strength of the Japanese Church is at least remotely commensurate with its task, for these unreached millions, too, have a right to the life that is in Christ Jesus.

But while the work of missions is still very much needed in Japan, this does not mean that the form of missionary activities should be just what it has been in the past. Japanese leaders in particular, however much they realize that help from the stronger churches of the West is still needed, insist that this help should, in many cases, take a different form, and, above all, that the relationship be-

tween the missionary and the native Church be changed so that the Church and its desires are made more central in the whole movement.

It cannot be said too often nor too emphatically that the day of a certain type of missionary is past in Japan. What we said in our second chapter, under the subject of Attitudes, should be repeated here. No missionary has any place in Japan today who cannot work on a plane of equality and as a "fraternal helper" with his Japanese colleagues. Nor has that missionary a very large place who says, "Let the Japanese Christians do their work as they please and I will do my work as I please." Of course, no one can stop this free lance activity, and probably such a missionary will reach individuals for Christ, for the field is large and much of it is unoccupied by the church. But surely it must be clear that a missionary who cannot work in close fellowship with Japanese who are already Christians will find it no easier to work with any new converts that he might win.

In speaking, then, of the future of missionary work in Japan nothing becomes more important than the securing of a missionary personnel which can work with Japanese Christians as brothers and as equals. This is absolutely essential if we really wish to have our efforts effectively promote the evangelization of Japan. No matter what other qualifications a missionary may have, if he has not this elemental spiritual quality he is most emphat-

ically disqualified and his presence is a hindrance rather than a help.

But, given a missionary personnel that has this grace of brotherhood, what is it that missions can do in order to establish more quickly and fully the Kingdom of God in Japan?

Let us start with the most conspicuous and one of the most extensive enterprises missions are conducting, namely, the educational work. As is well known, missions in Japan, from the beginning, have spent much of their energy in educational activities. There are numerous Christian kindergartens, a goodly number of secondary schools, about a dozen colleges and universities, and more than enough theological seminaries and Bible Schools. Only a few schools of primary grade are conducted under Christian auspices, as primary education is compulsory and under strict Government control.

Inasmuch as the main work of evangelizing a nation must inevitably devolve upon the native church, it goes without saying that nothing that missions can do to strengthen the Church for its task counts for more than the raising up of a qualified Christian leadership; not only trained ministers and evangelists, but Christian men and women in all walks of life who are positive in their Christian responsibilities. From this it follows that the continuance and further development of the present Christian schools in Japan is one of the

supreme tasks. Can this be done without the continuance of missionary help?

There are some exceptions, but, as a rule, the lower grade of schools can be made practically independent of missionary support. Most of the numerous kindergartens should at once be taken over by local Christian groups, and while expert missionary advice, and in some cases supervision, might be still necessary and desirable, very little missionary money should go to the support of such schools. Secondary schools, too, can, in most cases, be made financially independent of missionary support. A few foreign teachers on the staffs of these schools, principally as teachers of English and personal workers in extra-curricula activities, are highly desirable, but even this is not always indispensable. It goes without saying that the administrative responsibilities for all these schools should be placed, without delay, upon the shoulders of Japanese Christians, where this has not already been done. Missionary help in these lower schools certainly need not be increased in the future; in a goodly number of them it should rather be decreased in the interest of the schools themselves.

Theological seminaries and Bible schools, too, should receive no increase in the present form of missionary help. Most of these schools are weak, inadequately financed and not properly staffed. Something must be done to help them, but the help should not be in the form of increasing the appro-

priation from mission funds and enlarging the missionary representation on the teaching staff. What is needed and what the situation imperatively demands is the consolidation of the numerous existing institutions into a few strong ones. Mission Boards have a heavy responsibility resting on their shoulders in seeing to it that as far as they are concerned they will not continue to be a party to the present extravagant and inefficient system. The mission funds spent on the existing numerous small schools and the professors who now spend their lives in teaching a wide range of subjects to discouragingly small groups of students would be sufficient to finance liberally and staff adequately a proper number of strong Theological seminaries and Bible schools.

When it comes to colleges and universities conducted under Christian auspices the situation is different. In this field there is an imperative need for more liberal help from the Christians of the West. Possibly the number of missionary teachers need not be increased, but certainly the appropriations to the budgets should be enlarged in most cases. In Japan, as in the West, higher education is expensive, and the income from fees meets only a small part of the expense. The major part must be met from other sources. The Japanese Church is, as yet, too weak financially to give much help, since it is taxed to its utmost to support the work of the church, as such, and to extend its evangel-

istic activities. The number of alumni and alumnæ of these Christian colleges who can give help beyond what they are doing in the churches is still very small. While non-Christians of means have given fairly liberally at times to the support of these Christian institutions, they cannot be counted on to shoulder any extra responsibility; and, besides, for a Christian school to depend largely upon non-Christian support is a precarious matter in that almost inevitably it leads to the acceptance of certain conditions which threaten the Christian character of the institution. There seems, then, only one alternative left if these Christian colleges in Japan are to be developed so that they can fulfill their great mission of raising up a Christian leadership in that nation, namely, a more liberal support from the wealthier Christian Church of the West.

It is not only because these Christian colleges and universities have the responsibility of raising up a Christian leadership for Japan that they deserve a most liberal support from Christians of the West, but also because these higher institutions in Japan, and similar institutions throughout the Orient, are today a tremendous factor working for a better understanding and friendship between the East and the West. No group of men and women throughout Japan and throughout Asia understand the Western nations and the best for which these stand so well as the students of these Christian

colleges and those hundreds who have gone forth from their halls. And no group of Westerners anywhere have a more sympathetic understanding of the problems of Oriental peoples and of their legitimate desires than the teachers and professors in these colleges, since they come into personal contact with the best of these peoples. Even if the Christians of Japan were now able to support their own institutions it would still be highly desirable, if not absolutely necessary, to have on the staffs of these institutions Christian men and women from the West who will continue to represent to the people of Japan the highest aspects of Western life and who will, on the other hand, continue to interpret to the West the nobler ambitions and hopes of the Japanese people. It goes, of course, without saying that these men and women must be well qualified for their task in their intellectual attainments and, above all, in the matter of having a right Christian attitude.

A field of missionary activity closely akin to the Christian schools which we have just been discussing is the work among the tens of thousands of students in the Government and non-Christian private institutions of higher learning. Even among the students in secondary schools there are numerous opportunities for Christian service, but the higher schools are pre-eminently a field for the friendly missionary who understands and sympathizes with the young men and young women of

modern Japan. Such a Christian worker has often an advantage over any Japanese Christian, since these students are ever eager to know at first hand the life of the Western world, and many of them crave the companionship of an interesting foreigner. It is true that the passing of the Exclusion Act by the American Congress has produced a coolness towards foreigners on the part of many Japanese students, but when a missionary has once established himself as "a friend of Japan," he is received with as much cordiality as ever. Then, further, in this personal work with students the missionary worker is usually better qualified than Japanese Christians in that it seems more normal to him to talk with individuals about vital personal matters. Strange as it may seem, Japanese students often will talk more freely to a foreigner about their spiritual problems than to their own countrymen. It seems easy for Japanese to preach and pray in public, to lecture to an audience, but to talk intimately with an individual about his real life problems seems a rare attainment. The foreign missionary who has this gift and who has learned to use it with a delicate grace has indeed an unlimited field among the thousands of students who in so many ways wish to share in the life of the West and be friends with friendly men and women from across the seas.

In the next place, there is, today, an unusual opportunity for the foreign missionary who is

qualified by training and attitude to deal with the new problems created by the great economic, industrial and social changes that have come over Japan during the past twenty years. Any missionary who really knows how to lead off in a constructive way in the great field of Social Service has an unparalleled opportunity. Good will is not enough here. It requires the most expert training that can be obtained in the West, and this must be combined with enough common sense to adapt things to local conditions. A few missionaries in Japan have demonstrated what can be done in this field. We have observed that they are not among those who talk as if the day of missions were at an end. In this field it has hardly begun. Furthermore, in this work of applied religion there is little danger that the trained missionary will be doing what others might do as well. The native religions are hopelessly disqualified to solve these new problems from their general attitude towards life which prevents them from adjusting themselves to the new situation. At best they can only follow after others have shown the way. It takes wide awake leaders and men and women with a Christian spirit. The trained missionary from the West has an advantage over the Japanese Christian in that these problems are not so new in the West, and while they have not in any real sense been solved by Western Christian people, at least a beginning has been made. And even if the West had made

no more progress in this field than Japan has, a foreign co-worker could still make a valuable contribution in that he can envisage the problems from a fresh and different angle. In this field, in a peculiar way, men from the East and the West must work together, for the modern world is so inextricably bound together in its economic and industrial life that no one part of it can work out its problems independently of the other parts.

And now what shall we say about the future of the missionary's place in the so-called evangelistic work which usually is placed first in the list of missionary activities? What place will the "evangelistic missionary" have in Japan in the days that lie ahead?

As we have already pointed out, vast multitudes of Japan's 57,000,000 have thus far not been touched by the Gospel of Jesus Christ. One would naturally infer from this that no group of missionaries are more seriously needed than those engaged in evangelistic work. This inference is probably correct, and yet we are faced with the fact that no class of missionaries in Japan are more doubtful as to whether they still have a real work to do than just this group of evangelistic missionaries. An amazingly large number either enter other fields of activities or return to the home land. Why is this the case? Is it because they have lost their evangelistic zeal, or is it because the foreigner, as such, is unqualified for this important work? We be-

lieve that neither answer is correct, but that it is rather because the nature of the task has changed somewhat, especially the relationship which the evangelistic missionary sustains to the organized native church and to his Japanese Christian co-workers. Comparatively few realize fully just what this change is, and even fewer seem willing to readjust themselves to the change. To understand the difficulty, a little knowledge of the evolution of missionary work is required. Let us state this succinctly:

The work of a mission may be said to pass through three or four very definite stages, in each of which the relationship of the missionary to the native church and Christians differs from the other stages. These stages are the following: The Pioneer stage, the Paternal stage, the Fraternal stage, and finally a stage that is as yet not clearly reached in any mission field, but which is rapidly evolving in Japan.

In the Pioneer stage, the missionary is at first the whole of the Christian enterprise. There are, at first, no native Christians to whom he can sustain any relationship. He is, therefore, absolutely free to work as he sees best, without referring to others for advice. He has, of course, great obstacles to overcome, but he does not have to adjust his work to fit in with his native Christian brethren. Even after a certain number of converts are won he till proceeds with the untrammelled ways

of the pioneer in any field of life. Whatever he does, he does at his own initiative. He has his orders from the Lord, and no man has a right to tell him how he is to carry out these orders. There is something very attractive about this Pioneer stage, this preaching the Gospel where no man has preached it before. Paul, it will be remembered, gloried in this sort of work. Though he was stoned and imprisoned by the unconverted, he had more joy in this work than when he went to Jerusalem to report on it, and was trammelled by his own Christian brethren, or later, when he had his troubles with the established churches, particularly the church at Corinth. A great many missionaries are, by nature, suited for this Pioneer stage, and it is best if they ever move on and out into "the regions beyond."

But just in proportion as a missionary succeeds in doing effectively the Pioneer work in any place, in that proportion the nature of his task begins to change. As the number of converts increases, and as these are organized into local congregations, and these in turn linked up with other congregations, and thus formed into a great church, the Pioneer missionary no longer can do his work alone, but he must do it in consultation with other Christian workers. His work passes into the second, or the Paternal stage of missions. He may still do a lot of pioneering, but much of his time is naturally taken up with training the new converts and devel-

oping some of them to be helpers in his work. He is to them a real Father in the Faith, and he seeks to guide his children into the fuller Christian experience. It is something like the relationship which the elder Paul sustained to the younger Timothy and Titus, and to the little flocks he had organized into churches throughout Asia Minor and southern Europe. In many ways this is the happiest stage of missionary work, and the one for which most missionaries from the West seem best fitted. The Paternal stage allows a patronizing attitude on the part of the Westerner towards the humble Oriental, and that is an exceedingly gratifying relationship to most of us who are doing the patronizing. Until quite recently this has been the stage of mission work in most mission fields.

A successful missionary work must, however, pass sooner or later into a third stage, the Fraternal stage. This comes far more rapidly in some countries than in others. The rapidity with which it comes depends not so much upon the number of converts as upon the type of converts and the general stage of civilization of the people among whom the missionary is working. In Japan, this stage came very early, for the Japanese people were rather highly civilized when missions were first begun, and what is more is the fact that it was the most alert and progressive classes that were first drawn to the missionary. When the first Japanese churches were organized, they were organized as

self-governing bodies and with a strong sense of their independence. Very early these churches developed strong leaders who did their own thinking and who did not follow blindly their missionary fathers. And when the second generation of missionaries appeared their attitude towards them was naturally not that of a child towards its father, but rather that of a brother towards a brother. Of course, towards the older generation of missionaries the native Christian leaders continued to show a filial spirit. They revered and honoured them as their elders in the faith. It is natural, perhaps, that the second and third generation of missionaries who have come to carry on the work of their predecessors desire to inherit with the work also the respect and the reverence given by the native Christians to the " Fathers in Israel." But it is not natural for the native Christian leaders to have such an attitude towards the newcomers who are younger in their Christian experience than they themselves are. They are willing to receive them as brothers and to work with them as equals, but they are not willing to be treated by them with an air of condescension or with a patronizing spirit. In the work, then, which missions conduct in connection with the organized church Japanese leaders now insist on their right to have a share in its control. The missionary who thinks of himself as a little Bishop who directs the work of Japanese workers and who insists on his right to boss this

work, because mission funds are still used in its support, finds himself rather unpopular, and his relationship with Japanese leaders is strained. Unless he is willing not only to leave to the Japanese leaders the management of the affairs of the church, but also to recognize their right to a large share in the control of the work which missions are conducting in formal co-operation with the church, he must inevitably feel that he has no longer any indispensable place in the great work of evangelizing the nation.

Possibly the majority of the evangelistic missionaries in Japan realize now that they must work with their Japanese colleagues as equals. They realize that missions have reached the Fraternal stage, and therefore most of the work of missions is now directed as a joint enterprise between the mission and the native church with which the mission is co-operating. This has been the case for more than a decade, and in some denominations for two decades. At least theoretically this has been the recognized relationship. The fact that there was a great deal of quarrelling between Japanese leaders and missionaries in bringing in this Fraternal stage of missions in Japan might lead a cynic to question the appropriateness of the term Fraternal, but one of the characteristics of the life of young brothers is an occasional heated discussion regarding rights. It is only when they are fully grown and have learned to respect each

other as equals that these youthful symptoms disappear.

But the missionary work in Japan is now passing into a fourth stage, or rather into a new phase of the Fraternal stage, for the Fraternal stage is the final one in the relationship of Christians to one another. It is a phase in which the evangelistic missionary is not only willing to recognize the right of the Japanese Church to an equal voice with himself in the control of mission work, but in which he is also ready to think less about the matter of control and a great deal more about far weightier matters, namely, the actual spiritual work to be done and which alone justifies his presence in Japan as an evangelistic missionary. The Japanese Church really does not need any help in the matter of ecclesiastical machinery. She can take care of that herself, and at a much lower cost than that involved in sending foreign missionaries for such a purpose. What the Japanese Church needs is help in doing its spiritual work, help in proclaiming widely, but intelligently and winningly, the Gospel message to the unreached millions. Japanese leaders, in recent years, have repeatedly said that if missionaries can do this and are willing to make this their major interest, then they welcome their presence most wholeheartedly. To be sure, missionaries are handicapped somewhat as compared with Japanese Christian workers in the matter of language, and because they are less familiar with

certain things about Japanese life and mode of thought, but in spite of this they often have a real advantage. The friendly foreigner, with an earnest Christian message spoken from a heart rich in experience, frequently finds a response where the more fluent words of a Japanese go unheeded. And even if the average foreign missionary were not as well fitted for this great task as experienced Japanese Christian workers, he still has a tremendous opportunity and heavy responsibility for the simple reason that the labourers are few who would bring to the unreached millions a knowledge of the Friend of Man.

Then, further, the evangelistic missionary can still have a large place, particularly in the rural sections, as a friend and companion to the Japanese pastor and other Christian workers in isolated posts. These humble Christian workers may not welcome the missionary on the old basis where he "had charge of the work in the district," where he paid their salaries and told them what to do—though it should be said that there has been less friction at this point than is often assumed—but they do welcome him as a friend and companion, one who is ready to share with them their heavy burdens and bring to them an inspiration from his wider contacts with Christians in other parts of the world.

It should go without saying that to qualify for the position of an evangelistic missionary in

Japan, today, requires very real spiritual qualities. Almost any trained Christian from the West was fit to take a hand in directing the machinery of missionary work as this has been often conducted in the past. If the work " under his care " prospered he was a success, even though the success was really due to the ability and faithfulness of the Japanese pastors working under his direction. If the work did not prosper, then it was easy to ascribe this failure to the " difficulty of the field " or to " the inefficiency of the Japanese helpers and the lack of funds with which to employ better ones." But if a missionary's place and success depends upon his own spiritual influence upon his Japanese associates and upon the impression he makes upon those whom he seeks to reach with his Christian message, then it is no wonder that some men shrink from this work and persuade themselves that the work of the evangelistic missionary in Japan is drawing to a close.

For fear of being misunderstood, let us hasten to add that those who in the past found their chief place in this spiritual work and who minimized the mere machinery of missions as a secondary thing are not finding it impossible to adjust themselves to the new situation. Some of them glory in their new freedom, their freedom from executive responsibility which enabled them to give their time and strength to the actual work of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the unreached multitudes.

They are not, as a rule, among those who talk as if the work of the evangelistic missionary were drawing speedily to a close.

There are, naturally, other lines of work than these we have been discussing in which missionaries have been engaged in the past, and in which rich opportunities for service still may be found. Undoubtedly there are new phases of Christian service that will open in the future to men and women who are ever ready to adapt the Gospel of an unchanging love to the needs of an ever-changing world. Particularly plain is it, even now, that in the future the foreign missionary in Japan and throughout the Orient must take the lead in blazing a trail of friendship and brotherhood through the jungles of international and interracial relationships. Only men and women who, in their own lives, have learned to be brothers and sisters to men and women of another nation or another race are qualified for this task.

But whatever may be the future of missionary work in Japan, we would not close these pages with our attention fixed on this work as central to the Christian movement in that empire. We would rather leave the reader's attention fixed upon the real centre, namely, upon the Church of Jesus Christ and upon the place which Christ Himself now occupies in the life of modern Japan. We rejoice to repeat what we have already said,

namely, that the Church is now thoroughly grounded in the Sunrise Kingdom and from it is going forth a new life in all directions. Whatever Japan may think about the West in general, and about America in particular, and however true it may be that Western civilization is now below par throughout the Orient, it is an indisputable fact that Jesus Christ and His spirit as manifested by His true representatives have never been regarded with greater admiration. Christianity is safely grounded and naturalized in Japan today. It is no longer an extraneous Western religion dependent upon the presence of the Westerner to give it prestige. Yea, in Japanese minds the ideals of true Christianity are the standards by which Westerners are judged and their un-Christian deeds condemned. What a change this represents from the days only a short half-century ago when Japan still looked upon "the Jesus Teaching" as something to be dreaded and as the chief enemy of the nation!

Perhaps nothing shows this change of attitude more graphically nor reveals more clearly the present status of Christianity than a scene which was recently enacted in the city of Kyoto, that ancient capital of Japan from which once went forth decrees to martyr Christians and threats of defiance against the Christian's God. It took place in the chapel of a Christian school, at a regular daily chapel exercise. The students were assem-

bled as usual. They sang their morning hymn with the same old zest. The president of the university read a passage from the Bible and offered prayer to Almighty God, as was his custom. But one thing that morning was unusual, and it was this that shows how different is Japan's attitude today towards the religion of Jesus Christ. It was the fact that there, beside the praying president, with head bowed, stood Her Majesty, the Empress of Japan.

Thus, in a sense, stands Japan, today, before the majesty of Jesus Christ.

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